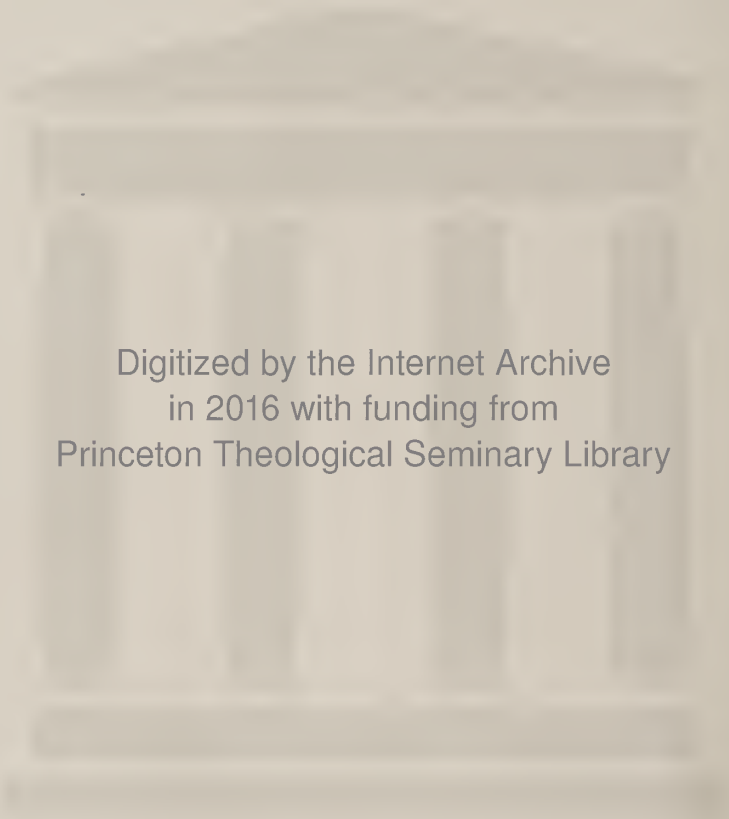

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SHELLEY.

THOSE who have faith in the value of contemporary literary criticism will do well to study the judgments passed upon authors in the English periodicals during the closing years of the last century and the beginning of this. In almost all cases political bias determined the attitude of the critic toward his victim or his idol. It is safe to say that Lord Byron might have run away with anybody's wife in England and retained his popularity as a poet, if he had been a Tory, and the genius of Shelley would have been recognized at once, if he had not been a democrat. It would be interesting to inquire how much the present Shelley revival is due to the fact that he was a dreamer of an Utopia for humanity, and a rebel in his time against nearly everything that was established in ethics, religion, and government.

Shelley was born in 1792, and died, aged twenty-nine, in July, 1822. Up to the time of his death his published works, which had a very limited circulation, were treated for the most part with the contempt of silence. When it was impossible to ignore him, he was alluded to with incredible bitterness. As early as 1819, *Blackwood's* alone of all the great authorities wrote of him with discrimination and appreciation of his rank as a poet; the *Examiner* of Leigh Hunt was his sole defender. It will be instructive to recall some of the contemporary criticisms of a poet whose rank by common consent is with the greatest English bards, whose *Cenci* is regarded by his worshipping society as the finest tragedy since Shakespeare wrote, and the *Prometheus Unbound* by some as the

noblest poem in the English language, and who is accounted by one of his biographers the greatest *man* of his generation.

In 1819 the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in a brief notice of *Rosalind and Helen*, said:

"We speak our sincere opinion in saying that if we desired to bring a poetic sanction to the basest passions of the human heart, or the most odious, revolting, and unnamable crimes of human society, we should seek it in the works of certain poets [Byron and Shelley] who have lately visited the Lake of Geneva." . . . "This work may seem utterly unworthy of criticism, but the character of the school gives importance to the effusions of the writer."

In 1819 the *Quarterly Review* opened upon the poet. *The Revolt of Islam* it declares insupportably dull and laboriously obscure; it condemns the poet as a man, and a philosopher of lawless love, and hints at his disgusting private life.

"The *Prometheus Unbound*," it says (1821), "belongs to a class of writings absolutely and intrinsically unintelligible. His poetry is all brilliance, vacuity, confusion. Its predominating character is frequent and total want of meaning. Poetical power can only be shown by writing good poetry, and this Mr. Shelley has not yet done. Of Mr. Shelley himself we know nothing, and desire to know nothing. Be his private qualities what they may, his poems are at war with reason, with taste, with virtue; in short, with all that dignifies man, and that man reveres."

It speaks of his "impiety, doggerel, and nonsense," and declares that "Mr. Shelley's poetry is, in sober sadness, drivelling prose run mad."

In the same year (1819) *Blackwood's* passes judgment upon the proscribed poet, and incidentally defends him from the brutal stupidity of the *Quarterly*. In commenting on *The Revolt of Islam*, it condemns his pernicious opinions concerning man and his moral government, his superficial audacity of unbelief, his overflowing uncharitableness toward almost the whole of his race, and his disagreeable measure of assurance and self-conceit, but respects his powerful and vigorous intellect, and his genius. He is of the Cockney School so far as his opinions go, but differs from them by the genius born in him. "Hunt and Keats, and some others of the school, are, indeed, men of considerable cleverness, but as poets they are worthy of sheer and instant contempt." *The Revolt of Islam* is called "a fine but obscure poem, with an arrogant purpose, hurriedly written and unfinished. Mr. Shelley, whatever his errors may have been, is a scholar, a gentleman, and a poet; if he acts wisely and selects better companions, his destiny cannot fail to be a glorious one."

In reviewing *Rosalind and Helen*, it says it sees

"in this highly gifted man much to admire, very much to love, but much also to move to pity and sorrow. For what can be more mournful than the degradation of youthful genius, involving in its fall virtue, respectability, and happiness?" "His fame will yet be a glorious plant, if he does not blast its expanding leaves by the suicidal chillings of immorality."

In *The Revolt of Islam*, in nerve and pith he approached Byron and Scott, and in *Rosalind and Helen* he touches, with equal mastery, the gentler strings of pathos and tenderness, that responded to Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Wilson.

In noticing *Alastor* (1819), *Blackwood's* again speaks highly of the two poems just named, and of this one, the first showing his genius, and says:

"He has been by the critics either overlooked, or slightingly noticed, or grievously abused. In the *Quarterly* he has been treated infamously and stupidly. Comparing the latter's 'motionless prose' with the other's 'eagle-winged raptures,' one does not think of Satan reproving sin—but one does think, we will say it in plain words and without a figure, of a dunce rating a man of genius. He *exults* in calumniating Shelley's moral character, but he *fears* to acknowledge his genius."

This notice is intended to be full of encouragement:

"If he will but listen to the voice of his own noble nature, the poet may yet be good, great, and happy."

In the *Prometheus Unbound* (1820), Jupiter is thought to represent all religion, and his downfall means that of all religion and all moral rulers.

"It is quite impossible there should exist a more pestiferous mixture of blasphemy, sedition, and sensuality, than is visible in the whole structure and strain of this poem; which, nevertheless, and notwithstanding all the detestation its principles excite, must and will be considered, by all who read it attentively, as abounding in poetical beauties of the highest order, as presenting many specimens not easily to be surpassed of the moral sublime of eloquence, as overflowing with pathos and most magnificent description."

The critic makes no special mention of the glory of this poem, its almost unapproachable lyrics. Of the other poems in the volume under review, the "Ode to the West Wind," that "To a Skylark," and minor pieces, all of them abounding in richest melodies and great tenderness of feeling, the most affecting is *The Sensitive Plant*. Quoting several passages, the writer says: "These are passages which we do not scruple to place upon the level with the very happiest of the greatest productions of Mr. Shelley." The article in-

dignantly repels the accusation of the London magazines that *Blackwood's* praises Shelley because he is pecuniarily independent, and abuses Hunt, Keats, and Hazlitt because they are poor. This is an imputation foul and false. For Keats and all the Cockney Poets the writer "feels a contempt too calm and profound to admit of any admixture of anything like anger and personal spleen. We should just as soon think of being wroth with vermin." But as to Shelley, he is destined to leave a great name behind him. His principles are, however, more undisguisedly pernicious in this volume than even in his *Revolt of Islam*. If the departed critic is conscious of what is going on in this upper (or lower, as the case may be) world now, the present reputation of Keats must cost him some moments of uneasiness.

Blackwood's notice of *Adonais* (1821) is by another hand, and is an out-and-out slander of both Keats and Shelley. The writer gives an imitation of his "odoriferous, colorific, and daisy-enamored style," beginning: "Weep for my Tomcat! All ye Tabbies weep!" In 1820 the *London Magazine* condescended to take notice of *The Cenci:*

"The trouble with the author is personal vanity rather than vicious propensity. The radical foulness of moral complexion of this composition, disgusting, dangerous, is almost redeemed, so far as literary merit is concerned, by uncommon force of poetical sentiment and very considerable purity of poetical style." . . . "This tragedy is the production of a man of great genius and most unhappy moral constitution."

The same opinion was expressed in the *Biographie Universelle. The Cenci* is "*une véritable monstruosité: . . . Son Prométhée déchaîné offre moins de ces horreurs que l'imagination déréglée de Shelley sè plaisait à enfanter.*"

In 1822, when Shelley had just passed beyond the reach of even the most slashing review, the *Gentleman's Magazine* contained a notice of an elegy on the death of Shelley, by Arthur Brooke, in which it delicately intimates its opinion of the dead poet. Up to this time it had neglected Shelley, except in a short, contemptuous notice of *Rosalind and Helen*. Now it says:

"Mr. Brooke, an enthusiastic young man, who has written some good but licentious verses, has here got up a collection of stanzas for the ostensible purpose of commemorating the talents and virtues of that highly gifted individual, Percy Bysshe Shelley.

"Concerning the talents of Mr. Shelley we know no more than that he published certain convulsive caperings of Pegasus laboring under colic pains; namely, some purely fantastic verses in the hubble-bubble, toil and trouble style; and as to Mr. Shelley's virtues, if he belonged (as we understand he did) to a junta

whose writings tend to make our sons profligates and our daughters strumpets, we ought as justly to regret the decease of the devil (if that were possible) as of one of his coadjutors. Seriously speaking, however, we feel no pleasure [such a tender heart has the scholarly critic after all] in the untimely death of this Tyro of the Juan school, that preëminent academy of infidels, blasphemers, seducers, and wantons. We had much rather have heard that he and the rest of the fraternity had been consigned to a monastery of La Trappe, for correction of their dangerous principles and expurgation of their corrupt minds. Percy Bysshe Shelley is a fitter subject for a penitentiary dying speech than a lauding eulogy ; for the muse of the rope rather than that of the cypress ; the muse that advises us 'warning to take by others' harm, and we shall do full well.'"

In contrast to this tirade of what then passed for literary criticism, we will quote from the notice of Shelley's death in *The New Monthly Magazine* of the same year (1822), in which some of the reasons for the reviewers' treatment of Shelley are plainly stated :

"Mr. Shelley was a man of talents of a very high order, but they have not been justly appreciated. His opinions were opposed to a strong party in politics, which, had he ranked on its side, would have made the freedom and openness of those opinions the proof of virtuous honesty, or, at most, the 'venial error' of youth. The reverse being the case, however, the latitude of his ideas both prevented his receiving common justice from those who would be thought the impartial literary dictators of the day, and furnished them with the ground of attack which they systematically made, without regard to truth or honor, to defame and persecute him. Whatever may be our idea of Mr. Shelley's sentiments on points on which we cannot agree with him, his private character was most estimable, and he had the merit, and a merit of the very first order in those days it is, of being no hypocrite. Mr. Shelley was an optimist and enthusiast, who imagined in his youthful reveries that man was capable of greater happiness than he seems to enjoy, and a much more worthy being than he will be this side the millennium. His notions were often romantic, frequently absurd, to the philosopher, but never directed to any object but what he imagined was for the benefit of his fellow-man, to relieve whose distresses he often involved himself in difficulties, and, disregarding the sneer of worldly-minded prudence, looked solely to the good he could effect.

"Mr. Shelley has never been fairly treated as a poet ; his works are full of wild beauties and original ideas, too much intermixed with fanciful theory, but they display a rich use of language, and imagination rarely surpassed."

How dangerous the trade of the reviewer may be, is illustrated by an article on Shelley in the *Edinburgh Review*, in 1839:

"The unbearable coxcombry of the 'intense' and mystic school of versifiers, who made him their model—including both the Shelleyites of the old connection and those of the new, or Tennysonites—had well-nigh rendered his name a synonyme for all that is affected, vapid, and unintelligible. Nor has his memory as yet entirely recovered from the unmerited discredit thus brought upon it. That his imagination was of the very highest order, was unequalled in the loftiness of its aspirations by that of any contemporary, is now scarcely a matter of controversy ; so much have he and others changed the poetical taste of this country since the time

when he was set down, with the full appreciation of the critical part of the community, as a dreamer and a mountebank."

The *Edinburgh Review* had already made a record on Shelley in a review of his *Posthumous Poems*, in 1824:

"A remarkable man, an honest man, with all his faults. His poetry is what astrology is to science. He was 'all air'; disdaining the bars and ties of mortal mould. He ransacked his brain for incongruities and believed in whatever was incredible. Almost all is effort, almost all is extravagant, almost all is quaint [the poor, hard-worked word], incomprehensible, and abortive, from aiming to be more than it is. His poetry is a confused embodying of vague abstraction. Wasting great powers by their application to unattainable objects, with all his faults a man of genius, an uncontrollable violence of temperament gave it a forced and false direction. The fumes of vanity rolled volumes of smoke, mixed with sparks of fire, from the cloudy tabernacle of his thought."

No lack of imagination in this reviewer; it seems just an accident that he was not himself a quaint and abortive poet.

Shelley is certainly an enduring phenomenon in the world, in both his personality and his poetry. But not more astonishing is the treatment this genius received at the hands of his contemporaries than the attitude toward him of the present Shelley Society, a coterie of the highest intelligence and sensibility, which makes of him a veritable "cult," in default, perhaps, of other religion broad enough and "humanitarian" enough to satisfy the æsthetic mind of this very æsthetic century. It seems a pity, in view of many possibilities, that Shelley was not a Hindoo instead of an Englishman. We owe to his editor, Mr. Forman, working with the industry and enthusiasm characteristic of this day of the specialization of literature, a magnificent edition of his works, in verse and prose; and later, to the Shelley Society, the rescue and reproduction of everything, down to the least fragment that can be traced to the jejune exercises of his boyhood, edited with a textual reverence that is scarcely accorded to Shakspere. The lofty effort is not to elucidate the meaning of Shelley, either in the text or the pious notes, to enable the reader to comprehend his often obscure allusions or to grasp his often vaporous purpose, but to give to the turn of a comma or the position of a hyphen exactly what Shelley wrote with his swift quill. Sometimes, borne aloft on the extreme flight of Shelley's imagination, the reader finds himself plunged into a profound perplexity whether Shelley could have used, in a critical moment, a colon instead of a semicolon. So much depends upon it. So immensely important it is to learn whether the inspired pen meant to make a circumflex or

a dash. It is the perfection of textual editing, rivalling the scholarly readings of Chaucer. We cannot but be grateful for the splendid text, for the reproduction of first editions in facsimile, as a matter of curiosity, also, for the rescue from deserved oblivion of his novels; but we are more impressed with the reverent spirit in which all this is done. So absorbed is the attitude of the worshippers of the Man and the Poet, that the spectator must be indeed insensible who does not remove his hat and stand with bowed head while the procession, with its image and incense, is passing.

In fact, however, the interest in Shelley is perennial. This is shown in the reproduction of reminiscences and recollections, in the multiplicity of new biographies, and the labors of an enthusiastic society. There are few names in literature which attract the attention and excite the curiosity that Shelley's does when seen in print, few in whose personality there is so much interest. And this is the more strange because no classic poetry is so remote from general sympathy and appreciation as his. Although a great number of quotations from him are among the most familiar in the language, Shelley is read only by a select few; and yet any anecdote or trait of the man attracts universal interest. This is due partly to the tragedy of his life, but not altogether to that.

Shelley is one of the most perplexing problems ever presented to the critic. We seek in vain for a key that shall harmonize his conduct and his theories with his personal qualities. The spectacle of a bad man with correct theories is common enough. Shelley was not a bad man, and yet his conduct needs frequent condemnation, and, wild as are most of his theories, there is an element of nobleness in most of them. He is a bundle of inconsistencies. When we are about to refer his eccentricities of conduct and of manner to a disordered mind, he surprises us with masterly clearness and intellectual vigor, with patience, sanity, and sagacity in his difficulties, even in his business perplexities. If we wonder at his stultifying worship of such a platitudinous prig as Godwin, we are amazed at his patience and gentleness, and justice toward Godwin when the latter's meanness was revealed. His throwing himself into the Irish cause, with his journey to Dublin, was the freak of a boy, but his address to the Irish people was full of the sound common sense which was just what they did not wish to hear. Nothing is more impracticable than his general theory of life and of humanity, but in the presence of actual facts he had comparatively few illu-

sions. The millennium sketched in his poems he did not expect except by slow processes. He was at war with society, but he was not a misanthrope, and he bore the legitimate result of his insane revolt with courage; he never whined. He railed at the tyranny of law, at conventionality, at Christianity, but he did not rail at men and women. He professed abhorrence of the institution of marriage, and yet he willingly submitted to the ceremony twice with Harriet Westbrook, and once with Mary Godwin; and his reason for this deviation from principle was due to tenderness and chivalry, the feeling that a false social position bore much harder upon the woman than upon the man. He was not a libertine by intention, like Burns, and he was quite incapable of such conduct as Byron's toward Jane Clairmont and their daughter Allegra, but he would have liked to reconstruct society on the Wollstonecraft basis of so-called free love. In nearly every one of his longer poems there are passages that would be rejected if now first offered to a publisher, passages touching the limits of a prurient imagination, and yet nothing shocked Shelley more than coarse and indecent stories. But as to these passages, it may as well be said here that they indicate a lack of robust virility in the fibre. Manly men, however depraved in conduct, do not write in that way of the passion of love. We should expect such poetry from the sickly imagination of a eunuch, and Shelley has in these effeminate excursions a modern follower.

It would seem that time enough had elapsed since Shelley's death for his poetry to be estimated apart from the man. But it is not. The critic who starts out with the best intentions to examine his poetry simply as a literary product inevitably drifts into a study of his life and character. The one cannot, it would seem, be interpreted without the other, although so much of the poetry is un-human, and in the vaguest supersensual regions.

It is not the purpose of this paper even to sketch the life of Shelley. For the Shelley Society perhaps the last word has been said in the monumental life by Edward Dowden, a work of immense painstaking and careful detail. It leaves scarcely any hour of Shelley's life unaccounted for, and is an evident attempt to do justice to his memory. But for all that, and although it corrects many errors of previous writers, it is somewhat disappointing; it hardly gives us a new view; the author does not employ his well-informed judgment in any adequate estimate of either Shelley's

character or of his poetry, and if we depended on this book we should have only a shadowy idea of his personality. For that we must go to Hogg and Medwin and Trelawney and Peacock, and we can still profitably read the recollections of Mrs. Shelley, and the admirable, though adoring, biographical sketch of Mr. W. M. Rossetti, and the capital résumé of his life by Mr. John A. Symonds.

It is an explanatory fact that nearly half of Doctor Dowden's voluminous work is occupied with the memoir of a boy. We are studying an immature life, and the note of immaturity must be kept in mind in estimating Shelley's conduct, as well as the ethics of his poetry. He was visibly growing, morally and intellectually, up to the day of his death, and there is nothing sadder in the annals of literature than the reflection on our probable loss in his premature departure. But it must be noted of this marvellous being that the boy's mind had a man's power of expression.

It is too much to say that under the most favorable circumstances such an abnormal creature could have had a smooth or happy career. His inborn eccentricity would have probably drawn him into revolt. But he met early two misfortunes. One was a social surrounding of conventional Christian morality that disgusted him, accompanied by a harshness that infuriated him; he was a wilful boy, but affectionate; he could have been ruled through his affections, but, unfortunately, this method was not tried with him. Treated with alternate indulgence and tyranny, he never had, either in his conduct or his studies, anything like discipline. It was difficult to have respect for the "orthodoxy" of the country squire, his father, whose morality, as Mr. Symonds notes, "was purely conventional, as may be gathered from his telling his eldest son that he would never pardon a *mésalliance*, but would provide for as many illegitimate children as he chose to have." The other misfortune was falling in with two books, the *Political Justice* of William Godwin, and *The Rights of Woman*, by Godwin's first wife, Mary Wollstonecraft. These books, whatever they may have contributed to "progress," books which could be read without injury by an adult, set the boy afloat in a weltering sea of sociology, without rudder or compass. Already, at Eton, where he read Godwin's book, he had cast off nearly all moorings; the date of his acquaintance with the free thought of Mary Wollstonecraft is not given, but he was familiar with its atmosphere before he met Mary Godwin, who was bred in it.

On one point, however, Shelley was reserved; he thought the movement for female suffrage premature.

In many respects Shelley remained a boy to the end; it was necessary to make the same excuse for his sudden impulses and eccentricities, that it is for the actions of a child who has no sense of responsibility; sailing paper boats on a pond gave to the author of immortal poems the same delight it gives to an infant; his appearance nude after a sea-bath before a dinner party at the Villa Magni, the summer of his death, was the freak of an impish child rather than of a man void of decency. Shelley did not hold himself accountable, and in time his friends learned not to hold him accountable. "You never can tell what Shelley will do," seemed to be explanation enough.

He was a marvellously beautiful youth, and yet the beauty was unearthly, something less than the angels of the old masters, something less than that of a virile man. The description of him by Hogg, at Oxford, when he was seventeen, is accepted as substantially correct.

"His appearance," says Hogg, "was a sum of many contradictions. His figure was slight and fragile, and yet his bones and joints were large and strong. He was tall, but he stooped so much that he seemed of a low stature. His clothes were expensive, and made according to the most approved mode of the day; but they were tumbled, rumpled, unbrushed. His gestures were abrupt, and sometimes violent, occasionally even awkward, yet more frequently gentle and graceful. His complexion was delicate and almost feminine, of the purest red and white, yet he was tanned and freckled by exposure to the sun, having passed the autumn, as he said, in shooting. His features, his whole face, and particularly his head, were, in fact, unusually small; yet the last appeared of a remarkable bulk, for his hair was long and bushy, and in fits of absence, and in the agonies (if I may use the word) of anxious thought, he often rubbed it fiercely with his hands, or passed his fingers quickly through his locks unconsciously, so that it was singularly wild and rough. . . . His features were not symmetrical (the mouth, perhaps, excepted), yet the effect of the whole was extremely powerful. They breathed an animation, a fire, an enthusiasm, a vivid and preternatural intelligence, that I never met with in any other countenance. Nor was the moral expression less beautiful than the intellectual; for there was a softness, a delicacy, a gentleness, and especially (though this will surprise many) that air of profound religious conviction, that characterizes the best works, and chiefly the frescoes (and into these they infused their whole souls), of the great masters of Florence and of Rome."

In his movements there was a mixture of awkwardness with agility, of the clumsy with the graceful; he would stumble over a marble floor, or up a facile carpeted stairway, but would thread a rough wood-path with unerring dexterity. His eyes—they look out

at us from the portraits like those of a startled creature of the forest —were large, blue, unfathomably dark, and lustrous. His hair was brown, but very early in life it became gray, while his unwrinkled face retained to the last a look of wonderful youth. Mulready is reported to have said that he was too beautiful to paint. But his voice, says Hogg, "was excruciating; it was intolerably shrill, harsh, discordant." It was evidently a falsetto voice, sometimes softened, low, and thrilling, but becoming piercing and unearthly when he was excited, vibrating in accordance with the high-strung passions of his life. Adequate portraits of him were never made. Doctor Dowden reproduces the well-known one from the painting by Miss Curran, and one, the head of a child, from a drawing by the Duc de Montpensier. The first is entitled to the Hebrew epithet of "wonderful"; the other is the ideal of exquisite loveliness. In both, however, is the weak, effeminate chin, which conveys the same note of character as the falsetto voice. There is something uncanny in the beauty.

The total impression we get of Shelley from his portraits, from the personal descriptions, from the minute study of his life for twenty-nine years, is that of a unique creature, incapable of being characterized by any epithet that does not need qualification. For the most part he was un-human, in perfect sympathy with "natural" things, with the negative virtues of the mythical Faun. At times, we doubt if he had such a thing as a conscience. But he had the keenest sense of justice, a passionate hatred of cant, hypocrisy, lying, tyranny; the most delicate perception of right and wrong, according to his Godwin ethics; he was an ardent lover of his kind, an optimistic believer in the perfectibility of humanity; a hater of the conventional; tender-hearted, as quick to relieve suffering as sensitive to perceive it; unselfish (except in his oblivious Faun-like moods), and generous to prodigality; with an unequalled courage of his opinions, and absolute disregard of public censure in acting on them, except (as in the case of the ceremony of marriage) where others would be injured; and in spite of his social theories, and his elopement with Mary while his wife Harriet was still living, and notwithstanding many passages in his poems, a pure man—the antipodes in this respect of the more human and more manly Byron.

We have said that he launched himself into the world without compass or rudder, and yet to himself his guiding principle was Love—love to his fellows and desire to do them good. But this

was an inadequate guide with his false views of life, of the true conditions of existence. "To represent evil as external," says Dowden, "the tyranny of a malignant God or Fortune, or an intellectual error, is to falsify the true conception of human progress." Shelley lived and wrote on a false philosophy. "Love is celebrated everywhere as the sole law that should govern the moral world," he wrote, in the preface to *The Revolt of Islam;* alas, that the noblest and purest aspirations that ever kindled poetic genius should have stopped at "humanity" as a chained Titan of indomitable virtue, and never have perceived the all-harmonizing essence of Divine Love.

In the conflict of his theory of love and the inexorable facts of human life is found the key, though not the excuse, of his relations with Harriet Westbrook and Mary Godwin. When Shelley was nineteen and Harriet sixteen, he easily persuaded her to elope with him and be married in Scotland. She was a bright, pretty, amiable girl, in whom Shelley thought he had an appreciator of his spiritual and intellectual aspirations. His rash act was dictated not so much by love as by a chivalrous impulse to rescue her from what he conceived to be an unhappy home. He married into vulgar associations, of which Harriet's elder sister, Eliza, was an increasingly unbearable part. Shelley bore his mistake bravely, long after the incompatibility of their natures was apparent, and until his wife had borne him two children. In this time of his restlessness he came into contact with the Godwins. It was a curious household. There was Godwin, the great moral philosopher, full of selfishness and conceit; there was the ordinary mischief-making widow, who had become the second Mrs. Godwin; there was her daughter Jane, whose fate was to be Byron; there was the lovely Fanny, the illegitimate daughter of Mary Wollstonecraft, who ended her own life by poison; there was the sweet, serious, intellectual Mary, "child of love and light," the daughter of Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft; into this society came the radiant Shelley, who was about to desert Harriet and run away with Mary, aged seventeen. Between these two there was personal attraction, perfect intellectual and moral sympathy, perfect love. But Shelley cannot escape responsibility for the ruin of Harriet's life. After the desertion he did not lack in kindness to her so far as her support went, and he used every effort in law to recover possession of her children and maintain them. Harriet, after various vicissitudes, committed suicide. If

Shelley's conscience seriously pricked him for his conduct, we do not find any evidence of it. It has been said that he knew she was unfaithful to him before he left her. In January, 1817, Shelley wrote to Mary, "I learn just now from Godwin that he has evidence that Harriet was unfaithful to me four months before I left England with you." It was in July, 1814, that Shelley crossed to France with Mary, accompanied by Jane Clairmont. It is a little confusing to old-fashioned notions, and it casts a strong light on his moral condition, to read that on the 13th of August, 1814, he wrote to Harriet from Troyes, calling her "My Dearest Harriet," signing himself "Ever most affectionately yours," giving her details of his journey of elopement, and saying (with Mary by his side):

"I write to show that I do not forget you; I write to urge you to come to Switzerland, where you will at last find one firm and constant friend, to whom your interests will be always dear—by whom your feelings will never be wilfully injured."

Is this Universal Love or Universal Slop?

The union of Mary and Shelley seemed ideal; for a time it was; and, looking back on it after the tragedy of nature that snatched Shelley from her arms, so it appeared to her. But we read between the lines that Mary's life in Italy in the last years was far from happy. There were many reasons for this. Shelley was the loveliest and sweetest of beings, but often his kinship seemed to be with the irresponsible creation rather than with man. It is difficult to domesticate a sprite. Shelley was elusive to the ties of ordinary life. Mary must often have felt that she had married Endymion, or a waterfall, or a sunbeam, or a gnome. After he had flitted, mingled with the universal elements, he was an angel, a spirit of sentiment, a radiant being, not of this world. It is pathetic to note Mary's efforts to keep herself intellectually abreast of Shelley, and be the companion of his erratic and swift-moving mind. They led a nomadic life, without centre or home (which a woman's heart craves). She was in a false position in society, they were permanently short of money and in debt, the pecuniary embarrassments of her father and his cormorant demands on Shelley distressed her, she was ill, her children died, gloom thickened about her. All this could have been borne if she had been sure of Shelley's love, of its continuance. She would not admit to herself that she had a shadow of doubt. Perhaps she had not. She was one of the noblest and most magnanimous of women. In her indignant vindication of Shelley from the story of his relations

with Jane Clairmont, which she addressed to Mrs. Hoppner (but which Byron, with an amazing want of heart and generosity, never delivered), she declared that the love between Shelley and herself had increased daily and knew no bounds. But it is not in a wife's nature that she should not have been disturbed by her husband's perilous sympathy with the beautiful Italian girl in the convent of St. Anna, Emilia Viviani, to whom he addressed that most impassioned of love poems, *Epipsychidion*. And then there was the presence of Jane Clairmont in the household, or Shelley's constant correspondence with her. And if she was ever uneasy as to their warm friendship, her uneasiness would not have been quieted if she had known the sort of letters they exchanged, in which Jane is addressed as "dearest"; letters that contained such sentences as this:

"I wrote you a kind of scrawl the other day merely to show that I had not forgotten you, and as it was taxed with a postscript by Mary, it contained nothing that I wished it to contain."

Shelley's interest in Emilia was for a time intense, but, no doubt, almost wholly ideal and poetic; he wrote of her to Claire (as Jane is always called), "There is no reason that you should fear any mixture of that which you call *love*." Claire was sentimental; she complained that Shelley did not take an interest in her pleasure or in her pain, and needed constantly to be assured of his love and interest. As a woman and a comrade for Shelley she was not to be compared to Mary, but she might be less *exigeante* as to his conduct, and her letters and scraps of diary show that she had a certain dash and picturesqueness, not to say piquancy, which Mary lacked. We need not suppose that Shelley would ever have deserted Mary for her, but Shelley was an unaccountable creature, who might very well give a wife moments of anxiety.

There is no longer, we imagine, any room for discussion of the position of Shelley as a lyric poet. He is second to no one in our language. If we want an exact definition of what we mean by "poetry," we turn to his. It was his natural language. He wrote as a bird flies. And his flights are only to be compared to the strong-pinioned eagle, which soars in ever-widening spirals into the empyrean. Both go out of mortal ken. How prodigal he is! Image on image, flight above flight, imagination on imagination, scaling the heavens, and when the amazed reader thinks the climax is reached, lo! the unconscious ease with which he soars to more aërial regions. If you attempt to turn this verse into prose, the

meaning escapes. It is poetry. The unapproachable melody of it, also! It is as untranslatable as music. It is possible for a person, sensitive to harmony, to read pages and pages of his poetry, with exquisite delight, having only the vaguest consciousness of the poet's meaning, with that sense of enjoyment that one has in listening to an orchestra.

> "From visions of despair I rose, and scaled
> The peak of an aërial promontory,
> Whose caverned base with the vexed surge was hoary;
> And saw the golden dawn break forth, and waken
> Each cloud and every wave."

It was always from an aërial promontory that Shelley viewed life. The critics said he was all "in the air." And yet no lyric poet has given to our language more exquisite thoughts, which serve us as familiar expressions of deepest love, passion, and experience. We might call this strange creature an orchid living upon air, an ungainly plant blossoming ever and anon into the flower of the Holy Ghost.

It is hardly hyperbole to say that Shelley's natural ear heard the "melody of the spheres"; the intuitive harmony of his verse is as evident in the opening of *Queen Mab* as in his maturer efforts, in the lyrics of *Prometheus Unbound*, in *The Sensitive Plant*, "The Cloud," "Arethusa," "Lines to an Indian Air," and a score of the most familiar poems in the language.

Shelley's melody, his aspirations, his lofty spirit are always comprehensible, not always his meaning. He had a burning interest in humanity, his passion for the good of the race would not let him sleep, and his views, in conversation and in his prose, of the regeneration of mankind did not lack common sense; and, no doubt, the wildest flights of his muse seemed to him to have a direct bearing upon human affairs. Greatly stirred by the revolutionary portents in Italy, Spain, Greece, he could not refrain from striking a "practical" blow; the triumph of humanity was at hand, and he was in a feverish haste to publish *The Revolt of Islam*, to aid the good cause. It was as if one now should compose a symphony, to be performed before a select few in Pisa, in aid of Irish Home Rule. Few people could guess the poet's meaning. Shelley was deficient in humor. There was nothing ludicrous to him in the boy's attacks on the Titans of tradition, custom, faith, historic Christianity. Yet how simple was his arrogance; or how simple it would have been, if

there had not peeped forth, in the spirit in which he wrote of Christianity, impish mischievousness and malice. His friends said that he was the sweetest, the loveliest, the most tolerant of men. He was tolerant of everything but law and Christianity.

In the little circle of intimates in Italy, which regarded him with affectionate apprehension as a being from another planet, Shelley had the sobriquet of the Snake. This was given him from his gliding habit of noiselessly appearing and disappearing, and probably not from more occult ophidian qualities. But the epithet was not unfitting, and evidently not displeasing. So close was he to nature that we can believe there was nothing loathsome to him in this reptile. The woman, beautiful as morning, sitting on the sand by the vast sea, has a serpent in her bosom. Even Cythna and the Snake are congenial passengers in the mysterious boat which sails between sea and sky (the usual track of Shelley's voyages), beyond the ocean and the ethereal mountains, to an isle girt by the deserts of the universe. And it is all so beautiful that the reader himself almost forgets his repugnance, and ceases to care whither the poet is taking him.

Shelley's impulse to write was not accompanied with that quality of genius which is more eager for perfection and maturity in its work than for publicity. He was born with a pugnacious and proselyting spirit; but we can hardly account for his early publications except upon a deficiency of both humor and taste. It seems incredible that a person at any age could have written, much more published, such utter trash as his two prose novels, *St. Irvyne* and *Zastrozzi*. It is little mitigation of the offence that *St. Irvyne* may have had a German origin, and it is no credit to the influence of Charles Brockden Brown if his psychological romances, which Shelley read with delight, inspired these fantastic absurdities.

The failure to recognize what would be simply horrible and repulsive to the common mind is shown in his notion that *The Cenci* would be at once accepted as an acting play in London. We acquit him, as De Quincey does, of being attracted to this subject by its loathsome aspects. What no doubt attracted Shelley—who accepted the then current version of the story—was the light in the conduct of Beatrice, and not the horrible background of her action. He may have been insensible to the horror of it—but it is to be noted that in the play he only hinted the most revolting details. And in no other poem does he come nearer to the human

heart, in infinite pathos and tenderness, than in this revolting and wonderful drama.

From one point of view Shelley had more love of humanity, more sympathy with nature, than Byron. But it is curious to observe the effect of the same experience upon the characters of these two men of genius. They spent some time together in Switzerland, and made a memorable voyage in an open boat around the Lake of Geneva. The outcome of this experience for Byron was *The Prisoner of Chillon* and the incomparable third canto of *Childe Harold.* For Shelley it was "Mont Blanc" and the "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty."

It is unnecessary to discuss Shelley's hatred to Christianity. He did not deny God; but he did deny the God of Christianity, as he understood him. He was by nature essentially religious, and, with his tenderness to suffering humanity and his quick benevolence, it is amazing that he should not have had a glimpse, in the principle of Universal Love he sought, of the true character of the historical Jesus as an influence in human affairs.

But it is necessary to consider his moral code and his conception of the government of the world, when we are challenged to accept the *Prometheus Unbound* as the greatest poem in English, except the dramas of Shakspere. For there is something more needed for a great poem than the acme of lyrical beauty and the highest flight of the imagination. Its basis in relation to human life and the moral forces of the universe is to be taken into account. Shelley was accustomed to regret that Christianity had displaced the beautiful religion of the Greeks. Now, the key-note of the Greek faith, as expressed in the *Prometheus Vinctus*, is the inexorable nature of the moral law, the Hebraic conception of the omnipotent sweep of this law—though Prometheus brought light to humanity, he could not escape it. In the *Prometheus Unbound* of Shelley, Zeus stands for Law, for Faith, Christianity, Custom, Superstition, Wrong, for every tyranny over the human mind; Prometheus for the Universal Love which dissolves all law and leaves man free. A magnificent poetic conception! But to what does it lead? What basis has it in any conceivable system of ethics, philosophy, or revelation, for human nature? That way lies anarchy. It would seem that Shelley had no clearer conception of the inexorable moral law of Æschylus than he had of the inexorable law of Love of Jesus of Nazareth.

CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.

A SCHEME FOR CHURCH REUNION.

THE religious problem of the time is church reunion. The minds and consciences of Christians have of late been wonderfully aroused to a realization of the wrong, inconsistency, and inexpediency of the present divided state of Christendom. It is wrong, because it is manifestly not in accordance with the mind of Christ; inconsistent, because it is not what the profession of the Christian principles of love and brotherhood should produce; inexpedient, because it is producing weakness and inefficiency in a system which has still the gigantic work before it of reducing the majority of the inhabitants of the world to its obedience.

The awakening to this realization is due to the change which is passing over the thought of the age. As we look back in history, we can see how each age has had its own characteristics. The mind of Christians at one time was entirely occupied with certain truths or principles, and that of another time with others, for which it was thought necessary to contend even to the persecution of those holding contrary views. But now the age of religious polemic is departed. Not only is persecution no longer possible, and a truce declared between those religious contestants who formerly felt it a matter of conscience to oppose each other to the death, but there is wide-spread respect and tolerance between those who still fundamentally differ. The Romanist and Protestant no longer feel constrained to believe each that the other will necessarily be damned, or to accuse each other of being guilty of the grossest crimes. Liberty of conscience, which a previous age secured, has now been followed by a greater blessing still, a true tolerance and respect for conscientious conviction. But still Christendom is divided. Though all profess to serve the same God, to be guided by the same revelation, and to be seeking the same ends, they do not live and work together as brethren should; and although this is seen and felt more and more every year, no efficient remedy is suggested. The Romanist feels that unity and uniformity must be enforced at all cost. The majority of Protestants deem no remedy possible but an inter-denominational sympathy, which many have tried now

these many years to practise, but which has done nothing to abate the evils of division. So each Christian body goes on alone, and new ones are still formed, each hindering and interfering with the other, and bringing weakness and contempt upon the whole Christian system.

But is there no alternative? Is there not a third possibility, viz., a real, practical union of Christians upon essential principles, with absolute liberty and tolerance upon all things non-essential? Is not this the theoretical relation of Christians now? We all hold of each other that we shall be saved, and that we are doing the Lord's work, if we cling to that which is essential in the Christian faith; while each denomination is at liberty to follow its own theories and customs. Why, then, should we not put our theory into practice? The common answer is that it seems impossible to reach any general agreement as to what the essentials of the faith really are. But this ought not to be so. It implies either that the principles of the Christian religion must be very indefinite, or that the opinions of Christians about them are singularly at variance.

The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country has lately put forth a statement of what, in its judgment, are the fewest necessary terms in an agreement for a reunion of Christians. That statement has been criticised by many, even within the body in which it originated; and, while it has been received with courtesy, or even hailed with pleasure on account of the spirit manifested, by those without, still it is not generally regarded as affording a practical basis for reunion. Nevertheless it is believed by many to be the only possible basis: and it is held that reunion would be practicable, if the desire for it were as strong and general as it ought to be, if there were more freedom from prejudice, more single-hearted desire for the glory of God and the benefit of his church. The proposition is not that any existing body should absorb the others; but that a new organization should be formed by the coalescing of existing denominations, through the reception of certain essential principles, allowing outside of them the fullest liberty in all present beliefs and practices, as well as in any new ones which may be devised. It is the object of this paper to consider these principles, and to sketch in outline a scheme by which a reunion might be effected on them.

The first one of them is the reception of "the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the revealed Word of God." As

to this, there will be, doubtless, but little question. All professed Christians now so receive them. If there are some who attach an equal or kindred authority to the books of the Apocrypha, or other books, they would be at liberty still to do so, provided they did not impose their belief upon others. And those who regard Catholic tradition as of equal value with Scripture would be in the same position. But as those who reverence the Apocrypha and tradition still admit that there is nothing necessary to salvation that is not contained in, or may be proved by, Holy Scripture, they will not naturally object to this principle, which recognizes the Scriptures as *par excellence* "the revealed Word of God." Nor does this principle involve any definition as to how the Word of God is contained in Holy Scripture. No theory of inspiration is insisted upon. None has ever received universal consent, and, therefore, none could be required. Every one must be at liberty to hold what theory he chooses, so long as he professes his belief that the Scriptures are the Word of God. But so general is the agreement among Christians as to the fact of inspiration, and the questions concerning its degrees and kinds are so subtile and metaphysical, that there might well be, and probably easily will be, union on this simple statement of undisputed truth.

In regard to the second principle, the reception of "the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith," there may be more difficulty. For while, as a matter of fact, it is believed that this creed is received by all Christians, with the exception of the small body of Unitarians, and, perhaps, one of the divisions of Quakers, still there are those who hold that it is not a *sufficient* statement of doctrine. But even these must admit that it contains a statement of all the *essential* truths, those which are necessary to salvation; and the whole of Christian history proves that the moment you go outside of the Catholic creeds there has been division and dispute, diverging opinions and schools of thought, so that nothing could be more futile than to attempt to impose more elaborate confessions. Further, as there would be full liberty in every congregation to hold and teach any catechisms, articles, and confessions whatsoever, that did not contravene these creeds, nothing more ought to be insisted on. Every year of late has brought with it further and further relaxation in regard to creed-subscription, in almost every Protestant denomination, and as those who hold to the Westminster or Augsburg confessions, or the Thirty-nine Articles, can now

consider each other as Christians, and largely fraternize, why should they not, and ought they not, to be in one communion, even though they cannot agree in the details of dogmatic statement?

But there will be more difficulty still with the third principle which requires the use only of "the two sacraments—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by him." But here, again, those who hold that there are other sacraments besides these two, acknowledge that they "are not *such* sacraments" nor so "generally necessary to salvation"; and, therefore, belief in, or use of, them should not be imposed upon all. And as all Christians do professedly adhere to and practise these two, there should be no difficulty in insisting upon them. But no theory in regard to them can be demanded. There have always been different opinions in the church concerning their *modus operandi*, precise efficacy, and importance; and as the widest differences of view in regard to them obtain, even among the members of the same communion, no special theory could be, or ought to be, enforced, so long as all loyally comply with Christ's positive command.

But it will be noticed that in maintaining as a principle the necessity of these two rites alone, and of the simple use of the proper elements, with the words of institution, in their celebration, the whole principle of the necessity of a ritual, and of ritual uniformity, is yielded. Moreover, this proposition comes from that body which, through all its history, has been the greatest stickler for these things. It was not from difficulty in accepting Episcopacy, but from unwillingness to conform to the Liturgy, that English non-conformity arose in 1662; while the Church of England and the Episcopal Church in this country have hitherto uniformly insisted upon the acceptance and exclusive use of minutely detailed forms of worship. But now, in the desire to secure this priceless blessing of unity, and feeling that she has no right to insist on any non-essential, this same Episcopal Church, as represented by her highest officers, declares that she will, for her part, no longer allow that which has constituted a wall of division among Christians to bar the way to union with those with whom she may be able in other things to agree. Surely a great step toward reunion has been taken in this spontaneous offer to yield the acceptance of liturgical rites, even of one so binding upon herself as that of Confirmation; but the extent and importance of the concession proposed, as affording a solution both of the litur-

gical questions which have long been agitating the Episcopal Church itself, and in regard to her relations with other bodies, does not seem as yet to have been at all appreciated either within or without her communion. It is evident that it completely removes what has hitherto been considered one of the most insuperable barriers to reunion.

In considering the fourth of the principles referred to, we come to the most difficult of all. It is that which makes an essential to reunion the acceptance of "the historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his church." To many minds the maintenance of this seems to close the door to the hope of union between Episcopal and non-Episcopal churches. But ought it to do so? If there is a willingness to throw down barriers on the one side, ought there not to be a willingness to do the same on the other? It is folly to suppose that union between bodies so long and so widely separated can be effected except by real and large concessions from each; and if non-liturgical bodies can secure the concession of so important a matter as freedom from the restraint of a prescribed liturgy, is it too much to ask that they, on their part, should be willing to accept an Episcopal regimen—especially modified as herein proposed—when the Episcopal Church declares that this regimen is something which it cannot give up? But why should it not give it up? Why should not *all* the concessions be on one side? Why should the historic episcopate in any form be a *sine qua non* to reunion? For many reasons. First, because it is a matter of conscience with a vast majority of the members of the Episcopal Church. They regard the episcopate as a divine gift, which has come down to them through eighteen centuries of Christian history, and they dare not give it up; they believe that it possesses an authority and grace which are found nowhere else; they could not conscientiously submit themselves to any other form of church government, or receive the sacraments from clergymen in any other orders. As narrow and bigoted as this may sound to some, it is, nevertheless, a fact; a fact which must be fully and considerately weighed in any honest and earnest effort to promote church unity. And over against this must be put the other fact that non-Episcopal bodies do not reject Episcopal orders *per se*. They do not deny their validity. And in general, Presbyterianism or Independency, and the other forms of

church government prevalent among Protestants, are not severally maintained because they are believed to be the only true and divinely ordained forms, but from choice or expediency, or from the belief that they correspond most closely to the primitive model. The general belief is that Christian churches are at liberty to organize under one or other of these forms, as they may see best, while none is divinely prescribed. Moreover, in the general Protestant sentiment the validity of a sacrament does not depend in any wise upon the orders of its administrator. Thus the question of a particular form of church government, or of the validity of its orders, is not a matter of conscience among those who do not possess the historic episcopate. They are ready to acknowledge any form of church government as proper, or to receive the sacraments from any hands. Is it reasonable or possible, therefore, that those with whom this is a matter of conscience should yield it up, and those with whom it is not a matter of conscience should insist upon what is merely an opinion or a preference? The situation is this: A, B, C, and D, while having each their own preferences, nevertheless all regard and acknowledge one another, and also E, as true Christian churches, whereas E does not so regard any but his own. It is manifest, therefore, that there can be no union between E and the others, unless they conform to his church in this regard; and as they already acknowledge her as one of many that are true and valid, whereas she can only acknowledge the one, is it not reasonable and right that they be the ones to yield.

But, secondly, the possessors of the historic episcopate feel that its possession imposes upon them duties in regard to their relations, not simply with Protestants, but with that far larger section of Christendom embraced in the Roman and Oriental communions, which must eventually be considered in any scheme of Christian reunion. Without this episcopate, any hope of an ultimate reunion with these communions would be impossible. Could any consideration, therefore, justify the giving up, for the sake of union with one or two small bodies, that which could alone make reunion possible with those far larger bodies which have so long embraced the vast majority of Christians.

And, thirdly, it is believed that among those with whom union is now contemplated, the majority are already members of Episcopal churches; *i. e.*, the adherents of all the various forms of church government put together do not equal in numbers those who

adhere to Episcopacy. Now, if one body is to be formed, there must be one form of government, and one of the existing forms must necessarily be chosen, for it would hardly be suggested that another entirely new one should be invented. And if one must be chosen, which would so naturally and reasonably be the one as that which already, as a matter of fact, contains the majority of those contemplating union, especially when there is no other single form which has anything like such general acceptance? If Episcopal churches are taunted with intolerance for their adherence to this form, they may well ask, if they were prepared to give it up, where they could find one more generally acceptable? Not only is it a fact that for fourteen centuries all Christendom was so constituted, and that for the last three centuries nine-tenths of Christendom has been so constituted, but among all the various forms of church government adopted by the remaining tenth, not one has obtained any but the most partial acceptance. Wherein, therefore, is the presumption and folly and arrogance we hear so much of, in the assertion that this fourth principle is an essential in any scheme of union? And if there is to be an Episcopacy, it must be "the historic episcopate," not a new one, which those possessing the historic episcopate could not recognize, which could bear no relation to the ancient churches, and which could not maintain its own unity. If it is admitted that one can give an authority he has not received, and that one man or any number of men can institute a true branch of the church of Christ in this age, or in any age, then, there is nothing to prevent indefinite divisions among Christians, and no reason, beyond that of practical utility, why they should be united. The historic episcopate is the centre and bond of unity in the historic church.

And yet that episcopate is not, as it may appear to many, the one often seen in papal and state-oppressed churches, but one that may be "locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his church." If the adherents of Episcopacy have granted them the great Ignatian principle, "Let nothing be done without the bishop," they, on their part, will be equally ready to yield the maintenance of the axiom having the same authority, "Let nothing be done without the presbytery." They are quite ready to acknowledge that, in the past, and in portions of the Episcopal Church today, the voice of the presbytery has been, and is, too little heard.

But in the free Episcopal Church in this country its position is already recognized and guaranteed, while the presbyters and the laity constitute coördinate branches in her legislatures. Matters could be similarly arranged in the union proposed. Its dioceses could be made much smaller than those in existing Episcopal churches, so that the presbyters in each diocese might constitute, as they should, a real "corona" round the bishop, with whom he would be obliged to take counsel before proceeding to action. And "adaptation" could be so made that in those divisions and graded assemblies in which the Catholic would recognize the province, the diocese, and the parish, the Presbyterian would find his synod, presbytery, and congregation. Further, as the union proposed would involve absolute freedom in each congregation to select its own manner of service, whether liturgical or extemporaneous, ornate or plain, with instrumental music and hymnody, or only vocal psalmody, and its own teacher and school of doctrine, the Congregationalist would find preserved for him the principle for which his system has contended. And as this freedom of choice might easily extend to the having of a settled or itinerant ministry, or the methods of the revival and class-meeting, the Methodist could retain the great characteristics of his system. The principle and power of the episcopate maintained, this willingness for local adaptation is, manifestly, ample to secure safeguards against its abuse, or to utilize any feature that has proved serviceable in other systems.

It is said, however, that this scheme could never be carried out, because it would involve reördination of those not already in Episcopal orders; and that this would never be submitted to, because it would be a confession of error and inconsistency, an acknowledgment that all the acts of past ministries had been wrong and inefficacious. But it would be nothing of the kind. It must be remembered that it is not the absorption of other bodies into one of those already existing that is proposed, but the formation of a new body; and if in that body a particular form of ordination were required, any one, to whatever denomination he had belonged, might submit to receive it without the slightest reflection upon his past ministry. What is ordination, in the Protestant view, but the bestowal of a benediction; and why should it be received but once, and from but one source? Did not Saints Paul and Barnabas receive a laying on of hands for the performance of a special work, after they had each for a long time exercised their apostolic minis-

try? And have the clergy of to-day less need of such benediction? Would the spirit of these apostles approve of brethren keeping aloof from brethren, simply because the one part believed that the other part would receive, through laying on of hands and of prayer, a special grace and authority? If objection were made to the formularies now generally employed, there would be no need of using them in such ordinations. They are not essential. No form of words to be used in ordination was given by Christ or his apostles. Those in use are comparatively modern. Some such one as this might be employed: "Receive the grace of God for the ministry whereunto thou art called," whatever it might be. This would be perfectly valid in the view of the most scrupulous Catholic, and would involve no inconsistency in the one receiving it, no matter how much he might be persuaded that he had already been exercising a similar office in a different body. If the only thing that prevented a reunion between the Church of Rome and the Anglican communion were scrupulosity on the part of Rome as to the validity of Anglican orders, the writer of this article would not for a moment refuse to receive Roman ordination, though he is himself perfectly persuaded of the validity of the orders in which he is; and he would consider his action no sacrilege.

If the non-Episcopal bodies would only remember the way in which they came to be constituted as they are; and how many of them made efforts to obtain the episcopate, or professed that they were only waiting until it could be received; or on what occasions they have offered to receive a "moderate episcopate," and if they were really in earnest in their desire for reunion, and willing to sacrifice something to gain it, there ought not to be the difficulty in regard to the episcopate that is so largely looked for. If consistency and the maintenance of one's private opinions are considered of more importance than to secure the inestimable boon and power of a united Christendom, then, of course, the adherence to this last principle will prevent any union between Episcopal and non-Episcopal bodies. And it may be added that if this be the spirit manifested, there will be no more likelihood of union between Presbyterianism and Independency, or any other of the forms into which non-Episcopal bodies are divided. But if there is a real desire for unity, and willingness on all sides to secure it by any fair and reasonable sacrifice which does not touch the essence of the faith; then, it is submitted that these four principles together afford

a basis, and the only possible one, for a union involving mutual concessions, but honorable alike to all.

But if all this is admitted, how could a union on these terms be brought about? By some such process as this: Let the representatives of the various denominations, some of whom have already been appointed, confer together; and if they should agree in recommending a union on these principles, and such recommendation should have been duly ratified, each existing denomination would resolve to merge itself in a new body, to be known, in this country, as, the Church of the United States. Such a designation would not only be the true name by which the body of Christians in this nation should be known, but it would be hailed with joy by many. The Protestant Episcopal Church is already dissatisfied with her designation, and many in other Christian bodies are beginning to feel that a title derived from the name of a human founder, or from terms denoting theological or ecclesiastical peculiarities, is no fitting description for so august a body as the church of God. There can be no question that the scriptural designation of the church was from the locality in which it was planted, as the Church of Corinth, of Ephesus, of Rome, etc.; and to this let us return.

Next, let the whole of the United States be divided up into districts corresponding to the province or synod, and the diocese or presbytery; and a provision made for the holding of constitutional assemblies therein, composed of all the clergy, and representatives of the several congregations. Let all those now ministering to congregations, who have not already received ordination from some branch of the historic episcopate, receive a laying on of hands, with some simple formula which shall be adjudged sufficient to set them apart for their work in the new organization. Diocesan assemblies being held, let fitting men be freely elected to the position of bishops, with due provision for those already in similar positions, as the bishops of the Methodist and the Episcopal churches. Let those so elected be also duly set apart for their office; the bishops of the Episcopal Church having already pledged themselves by the terms of their declaration to the bestowal of this gift of ordination, provided the conditions they ask be complied with. Finally, enabling acts from the State legislatures could be obtained, providing for the transfer of the property of the various denominations to suitable trustees under the new organizations; and other matters requiring local adjustment completed, the new church would be duly organized and equipped.

Then the great work of consolidation and up-building would begin: the weeding-out of churches in districts where there are too many, and the placing of them where they are needed; arrangements for different congregations and clergymen who are now simply impeding one another, to work together in harmony; the amalgamation of missionary boards, or, at least, agreement to act so as not to interfere with one another, to the distraction of the bewildered heathen; real fraternal intercourse between those who are now so separated from, and ignorant of, one another; the manifestation before the world of that essential note of Christian character, unity of spirit; the upraising of an enormous power for righteousness and holiness, which must of necessity command respect and obedience; the saving of that fearful amount of energy and treasure now consumed in the maintenance of denominational pride and isolation; and the facilitation of the task of preaching the simple way of salvation, which is now often so difficult, through its complications with the teachings and commandments of men.

But, it is asked, how will it be possible for those differing in their theology from the strictest Calvinism to the broadest Latitudinarianism, and in their practices from the baldest Quakerism to the most advanced Ritualism, to dwell together in the same communion, sit together in the same assemblies, and work together in harmony? But why not? If the four great principles agreed upon were maintained (recognized by all as alone essential to the faith and structure of the church), why should not each be willing to leave to the others freedom of belief and practice in things indifferent, and to work heartily together for the ends and interests involving all? Do we not now practically so tolerate each other, without having the fellowship and power which would come from acknowledged and cordial union? Certain it is that, if Christians do not so combine to put into practice the principles of love and charity which they profess, and become willing to sink their differences in united action to uphold the cardinal principles of the faith, the progress of intellectual and scientific infidelity, of worldliness and indifferentism, of human sin and passion, will gain more and more headway, and the church of God be more and more weakened, or more and more fall into contempt; unless, indeed, when union be found impracticable, some one denomination succeed in absorbing the membership of the rest.

GEORGE WOOLSEY HODGE.

THE AMERICAN IDEA.

INSTITUTIONS rest of necessity upon fundamental conceptions, either of right or of policy, and institutions are beneficent or the reverse according as the ideas that lie at their base are sound or unsound.

In times of disturbance like those in which we are now living, when strange theories are propagated, when discontent is rife with things as they are, when proposals are seriously put forward, the carrying out of which would amount to a revolution of system, and when organized efforts are made to establish and enforce ideas precisely the reverse of those upon which our institutions rest—it is the part of wise men to make diligent inquiry as to causes and consequences, and especially to ask themselves, first, whether or not there is aught of unsoundness in the fundamental ideas on which we have built; and, secondly, whether or not we have, in any essential particular, suffered our institutions to lapse into errors and wrongs that make them violative of fundamental ideas. Let us attempt some such inquiry.

American institutions, American social life, and American industry have hitherto rested securely upon one broad and simple conception, namely, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The fathers formulated this idea, not as theorists make phrases, but as earnest men speak the truths that life has taught them. The circumstances of the colonial state had forced upon their minds this new and true conception of the natural freedom and the equal rights of men. They had learned their lesson in conflict. Their perceptions of the rights of all men had been quickened by their resentment of the wrongs done to themselves in the enforcement of other ideas. The long-continued and very grievous denial of their rights had forced upon them a contest in which they were ranged upon the side of truth by the compelling power of self-interest and the instinct of self-preservation. Suffering oppression in their own persons, they had learned, as men had never learned before, to

understand what human rights are. The long debate in which they had been engaged, with hereditary privilege for their antagonist, had shown them the ugliness of privilege, and taught them to perceive truths that were concealed from the eyes of men otherwise placed. Without privilege of any kind to plead in their own behalf, they were compelled to set themselves against privilege, and to plead natural and universal right as their defence against oppression.

They were not indulging in glittering generalities, therefore, when they challenged "the opinion of mankind" with the declaration that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They were setting forth a simple truth, and on that truth they built a nation; for, if we examine our institutions closely, we shall discover that everything of an essential nature in them is directly referrible to the doctrine of the liberty and equality of individual men.

Of that we shall speak presently. Let us first ask ourselves whether or not the broad assertion made in the Declaration of Independence is true. Men have been found, even in America, to doubt it, chiefly because they have not quite understood what it means. They have contended that the doctrine of equality is contradicted by the observed facts of life; that men are not, in fact, equal in capacity, wealth, enjoyment, stature, or anything else. The Declaration of Independence was never intended to suggest that they were so, but merely that the natural rights of men to live their lives in the way that seems to them best, to pursue happiness in their own fashion, and to enjoy the fruits of their own industry, are equal and unalienable; that all men are by nature free, no man having shadow of right to abridge the liberty of any other by the undue exercise of his own—in a word, that no man may rightfully make or call himself any other man's master, and that no government may justly create inequality of right or privilege among men.

This doctrine I hold to be true, not vaguely and generally, as some have thought, but literally and absolutely; as true as any proposition in mathematics. For proof, it seems sufficient to say that if men are not of right free, it must be that somewhere there exists the right to oppress them; that if men are not created equal in natural rights, it must be that some are endowed by their Creator with rights superior to those that are given to others; if all men are not equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of hap-

piness, it must be the natural right of some to deprive others of these things; which is only another way of saying that the worst and cruellest forms of slavery of which history anywhere makes record were righteous, and might be righteously restored—a doctrine too repugnant to the sense of justice to need refutation.

It was in logical pursuance of this American idea that the fathers instituted self-government, personal, local, State, and national. If all men are free and equal, no man, or set of men, may of right interfere in any matter that concerns only some other man or set of men. In all that concerns the individual alone, each man must be absolutely a law unto himself. It is his right to determine for himself that which relates only to himself, without restraint or interference from any other individual, or group of individuals, or from government in any of its forms. In all that concerns only the people of a locality—be it town or village, city or rural province—the people of that locality have the absolute natural right to decide for themselves, without consulting the wish of any other people. In all matters that concern the State, and that only, it is the right of the State to decide without interference or restraint. In all that concerns the Nation as a whole, a like right of self-government, exclusive of interference from any source, exists. In general terms, it is the right of each unit, from the individual to the Nation, to be self-governing in affairs that concern itself, without asking permission or taking counsel of any other unit, whether greater or smaller. All this follows of necessity from the doctrine of individual freedom and equality of right.

It follows, too, that government, under our conception of fundamental truth, must be strictly limited in its functions; that it must equally abstain from all unnecessary interference with the individual, whether it be to aid or to restrain endeavor. Government may no more interfere to help than to hinder, for if it comes to the assistance of one man, or group, or class of men, it gives advantages to that man, or group, or class, which it withholds from others; and to do this is to set aside and destroy that equality of privilege and opportunity which we hold to be the unalienable right of all men, the one thing for the protection of which governments are rightfully instituted among men.

For about a hundred years we lived under the rule of this American idea and were happy. We began by repealing those laws of primogeniture and entail which were designed to create and maintain

a privileged class. We forbade all connection between Church and State, because the existence of such connection is repugnant to the American idea of equality before the law. After long travail we abolished human slavery, as we had before abolished all property qualifications for the suffrage and all removable inequalities of representation, because these things were repugnant to the American idea. If we still retain in our statute-books certain laws designed and operating to give advantage in business to certain groups of men, it is only because human nature is frail and timid, and we have not yet ventured fully and perfectly to apply in practice the doctrine which we stoutly maintain in theory; and it is to be said, on the other hand, that we have, at any rate, advanced very steadily in the direction of the truth toward which the fathers set our faces.

The first and greatest result of the adoption of this American idea was the exaltation of manhood. Both our institutions and our life recognized manhood as the supreme object of regard. Government existed, with us, only for the sake and at the behest of men as men. Its function was clearly understood to be to protect the individual man in the enjoyment of perfect liberty, to secure to each man the right to live his own life in his own way, and to make the best use he could of his capacities and opportunities. Under the operation of the American idea, manhood, for the first time in the history of the race, counted for its full worth. For the first time in history, every man entered upon the struggle of life with the inspiring consciousness that no man was his superior by prescriptive right, that no man could control his affairs for him, that no barrier was set to his endeavor, and that the fruits of his endeavor, whatever they might be, were absolutely his own, to use as might please him. For the first time in history, a nation of men felt that they might rightfully stand erect in any presence but that of the Deity.

Can there be question that such a consciousness was ennobling as well as inspiriting to men? Can it be doubted that such a system tended to the advancement of the race, and the creation of a higher, and ever higher, type of manhood? Is it not manifest that virtue as well as happiness must thrive under a system so securely founded in truth, and so stimulating to endeavor? The facts of our national history give the answer to these questions. The republic has grown in population, in wealth, in education, and in stalwart virtue, as no other nation on earth ever grew before. Wealth is more equally distributed here than anywhere else, even in this latter end

of the century when great fortunes startle us with their number and their magnitude. Ours is, and for more than a generation has been, the greatest, richest, freest, and happiest country in the world; a land of such abundance that even the poorest and most unskilled laborer may sit down under his own roof to three full meals a day, may see his children clothed as the children of unskilled laborers are in no other land, and may enjoy the consciousness that free schools are open to them, not in charity, but on equal terms with those given to the offspring of his well-to-do neighbor. In one sentence, under the beneficent operation of the American idea, this has been, and is, a land in which a man is permitted and encouraged to feel that his manhood makes him the equal of all other men, in which free institutions secure to him and to his children not only the right but the opportunity to make the utmost use of their capacities. No career is closed to him or to them by prejudice or prescription. No institution of learning shuts its doors in the face of his children, or sets degrading terms upon their admission, because of his or their "condition in life." He and they are free men, contending on equal terms with other men for the prizes of life, great or small, material, intellectual, or spiritual.

Surely it is a great and glorious thing to live in such a land and under such a system; and certainly it should be the unalterable will of every man so placed, that institutions so beneficent shall be guarded, preserved, and perpetuated, even at cost of his own life, if necessary. The idea which has given birth to it all should be deeply graven in every mind and heart; and every man should jealously resent whatever violates it, or threatens to set it aside. For it is the acceptance of this idea which has made all this possible. Even the material abundance, of which mention has been made, is due—so far as it results in providing for the wants of the poor man—much more directly to the beneficence of the American idea than to the fertility of our soil. Under other institutions that fertility would be taxed to support an idle and luxurious landlord class, to maintain great armies, to sustain a State Church, and to pay for the pomps of a court. With us, the man who tills the soil owns it, and the fruits of his labor pass from him to the consumer, in exchange for other products, by the most direct channels, at the smallest cost, and free from all tithings in progress. It is to this fact that the laboring man, with us, owes his ability to have meat on his table every day in the week, and his reasonable hope that his

children will be better off, both materially and intellectually, than he.

The oppressed, the poverty-stricken, and the hopeless of other nations saw all these things that they were good ; and they came to us by tens and hundreds of thousands, to share the benefits of our institutions, to be free men in a free land, where advancement and improvement were possible and even easy to those who were worthy. They came in good faith, to accept our ideas, to support our institutions, and to bring up their children as Americans. Such immigration gave us strength. The men composing it put the past behind them, and became Americans in thought and life, as earnest as we ourselves were in their determination to support and defend the republic, and as sincere as ourselves in their devotion to the idea on which our institutions are founded.

They believed, as we did, in the great truth that men are created free and equal, and that it is the function of government to protect men in their liberty and to secure to them their equality of right. They were patriots, deeply imbued with a sense of the dignity and worth of manhood, and the inestimable value of individual liberty.

But of late years we have been receiving immigrants of a very different character. Men, by thousands, have been coming to us, who utterly refuse to accept our ideas or to submit themselves to our system. Bred under the military despotisms of continental Europe, they have learned to regard all government with hatred and all law with loathing. They have no conception of the sacredness of individual right, no notion of the beneficence of individual endeavor in free air. They have brought with them destructive theories, wrought out in revolutionary conclaves in the beer-cellars of their native lands ; theories born of ages of oppression, and in their nature blinding to the possibility of liberty under law. They have learned in the bitterness of oppression not only to hate government, but to hold social order itself as their enemy. Their hatred of tyranny is not the enlightened hatred of injustice and oppression which free men feel, but a blind resentment against society for wrongs done to themselves and their fathers before them, under sanction of the only social system of which they have any knowledge. They have no desire to abolish despotism and to set up a better form of government in its stead, because they do not know and will not learn that a better form is possible. Their purpose is simply to become them-

selves the despots under some system of socialism, at best; in a mad reign of anarchy and violence, at worst.

These men, even in their milder moods, are enemies of society and civilization. Their least offensive proposal is to use the free citizenship our institutions secure them, for the overthrow of those institutions, and the substitution in their stead of that form of despotism which is most paralyzing to manhood, namely, state socialism. They are not content with the liberty we give them to live their lives in their own way; they deliberately propose to themselves to compel all the rest of us to live our lives in their way, whether we like to do so or not. They refuse to become Americans, to accept American ideas, or to adapt themselves to American institutions. They hate our Government as virulently as they hated the governments under which they were born. They refuse even to acquaint themselves with the institutions they desire to set aside. So far as possible, they refuse to learn our ways or to accommodate themselves to our conditions; and there are American cities in which these arrogant enemies of ours—for that is what they make of themselves—have undertaken, by force of numbers and the power which numbers give in politics, to exclude the very language of America from American public schools.

A danger which presents itself in this aggressive attitude is, perhaps, not greatly to be feared. We are strong enough to restrain this obstinately alien element from mischievous activity, and to keep it within bounds. But, unfortunately, the perverse ideas of foreign theorists have been propagated here in subtile forms, very alluring to half-educated minds, and many thousands of Americans, native and naturalized, have been seduced into acceptance of them in lieu of the great, universal, and eternal truth laid down in the Declaration of Independence, which I have called the American idea.

Without quite knowing what they were doing or whither their courses tended, American workmen, in a natural but misguided effort to benefit themselves, have joined secret societies organized for the express purpose of setting the American idea at naught by depriving other men of their natural rights. Trades unions, Knights of Labor, and similar associations have asserted their right to exercise a tyranny wholly foreign to the spirit of American institutions, and utterly subversive of human liberty. Under the American idea, every man is free to work, or to hire others to work, upon the best terms he can make. That liberty the labor organizations have

sought to take away by violence. They assume not only to compel their own members to work, or to quit work, at the behest of their little bosses, but to lay like commands upon free men who owe no allegiance to them, and to compel the doing of their will by physical force, by social ostracism, and by the ingenious cruelty of the boycott. We have seen almost the entire trade of the country brought to a halt for weeks at a time by command of one man, of bad character and low intelligence, who openly declared that he gave the order merely to "show his power." We have seen all the street-car lines of two great cities "tied up" at command of a secret conclave, by way of compelling the public to enforce an illegal and unjust demand that a corporation should discharge all the men in its employ and give their places to others. We have seen the business of a poor widow ruined by a boycott, because she employed bakers who did not belong to a particular secret society. Even while these pages are passing through the press, we see a trade union endeavoring to compel employers to discharge faithful and capable workmen and work-women, because they do not choose, or are not permitted, to become members of that union; to establish the right of a voluntary association arbitrarily to say who shall, and who shall not, be allowed to earn a living by labor.

These are but sample instances of what has been going on all around us for several years; and instead of resenting such violations of human right, as subversive of that liberty which is our most precious possession, legislators of every degree have weakly encouraged the wrong-doing, because they were too selfish and too cowardly to risk offending men who have votes, and influence with voters. As statesmen, it was obviously their duty to inquire whether or not these manifestations of a lawless spirit were prompted by any injustice in the laws, or by any failure in their enforcement. That duty they have shirked; but, in most meanly selfish recklessness of the general welfare, they have sought to ingratiate themselves with the conspirators against liberty by demagogic utterances and enactments. Mayors, members of legislatures, and even governors of States have thus degraded themselves; and party conventions have most obsequiously courted the "labor vote" in the same fashion.

The time has come for all of us to remind ourselves that we are Americans; to reaffirm the great fundamental truth on which our system rests; to insist that individual liberty shall be protected to the uttermost at any cost; to abide by the American idea at all times

and in all places; to enforce it in all our relations with men; to make its observance the test of merit in public men, in legislative measures, and in political parties. We all love liberty and desire the continuance of free institutions in this land of ours; but too many of us are selfish and cowardly; too many of us fear to suffer loss or inconvenience by setting ourselves boldly in opposition to whatever tends to the denial of the truth. We cringe in fear, when we should stand upright with a firm front. We basely surrender rights that should be dearer to us than life itself, rather than risk paltry pecuniary losses. And our political parties—both of them—have shrunk in most cowardly fashion from any honest dealing with the matter.

But the spirit of the olden time is not dead, though it sleeps. Already men are waking to the consciousness that it is not mere disturbance that we have to deal with, but an actual threat to the republic, and the liberty which the republic secures. Even in the ranks of the secret societies that were organized to establish tyranny, there is revolt against tyranny. American men are not good subjects for the fantastic tricks of despotism, even when they are themselves the actual or supposed beneficiaries of it. They do not serve masters patiently for any considerable length of time. The trades unions were absorbed into the larger organization of the Knights of Labor, in order that their un-American purpose of destroying individual liberty and subjecting manhood to a degrading bondage might be the more quickly and surely carried out; but as members of the larger organizations they have themselves felt the galling effects of bondage, and many of them are in revolt. They refuse to submit to despotism even while engaged in an effort to impose despotism upon others. They are inspired to resist encroachments upon their rights by an indwelling consciousness of the eternal truth and justice of the American idea, even though they owe their own organized existence to an attempt to set that idea aside.

These are hopeful indications; and, for one, I have faith to believe that the American people, native and naturalized, will, in the long run, prove to be thoroughly loyal to the American idea of individual liberty and equality of rights, though they are sometimes forgetful of it because of the temporary blindness of self-interest. If those of us whose eyes are not thus blinded do our part manfully, those who are now misled by false and mischievous teachings will presently come to a better mind, and see the truth as clearly as those who once held slaves now recognize the unrighteousness of that oppressive system.

Meantime, it should not be forgotten that the movements which we condemn as un-American and in derogation of the equal rights of men, have been instigated and made possible by the existence of actual wrongs and hardships. This American idea of ours is so true and so beneficent, that the discontents of our time could never have gained the force they have shown, if the truths on which our system rests had been faithfully carried out in practice. While we have held firmly to the theory that all men are free and equal, and that it is the function of government to secure to all an equal liberty to do the best they can for themselves, neither helping nor hindering any, we have in practice enacted some laws in violation of this principle, and have permitted certain men and classes among us to usurp privileges that others do not enjoy. Our system of taxation has been so framed as to favor a part of the community at the expense of the rest, to free some from the operation of the competitive principle, while subjecting the rest to it. It is not my present purpose to discuss the theory of the protection of infant industries, which many persons hold to be justified as patent laws are, upon the ground of a compensatory benefit to all. However this may be, the fact remains that, in very large part, our present tariff laws are without such a plea, and exist simply in order to give to some men advantages that are denied to others; which is clearly in violation of justice, and of the American idea of the function of government.

Again, we have failed to hold great corporations rigidly to their contract obligations toward the public. The only possible plea upon which we can justify the granting of exclusive corporate rights, and especially the right to make exclusive use of streets and other common property, to single groups of men, is that the grant is made, not with the purpose of favoring some at the expense of others, but in the equal interest of all, under a contract to the effect that the corporation, in return for a fair interest upon its actual investment, shall render to the whole people, upon equal terms, some form of service which cannot be rendered except by men in the enjoyment of such corporate privileges as are granted. In the case of railways, for example, the undertaking of the corporations is to furnish to the people the best facilities for the transportation of freight or passengers, at the lowest rate of charge that will yield a just and reasonable return in interest for the money actually invested. But this contract is broken, and the plea in justification of the grant of corpo-

rate privileges is taken away, when we permit the owners of the monopoly to take to themselves profits greatly in excess of what is fair. If a company issues stock and bonds in excess of its actual investment, by way of making that seem a reasonable return which is, in fact, a wholly unreasonable and excessive return, a wrong is committed which amounts to robbery—and robbery of this kind is done under cover of the law throughout the land. By the devices of stock-watering and the excessive issue of bonds, corporations are permitted to conceal the fact that their charges to the public for service are unjust, and in violation of the contract under which they hold their franchises. So far as the law permits such wrongs, it is unequal and un-American law, by which some men's rights are wrongfully abridged in order that the privileges of others may be wrongfully enlarged. So far as the law fails to set proper and effectual restraints upon this species of robbery and oppression, it fails of the purpose for which alone laws may rightfully be made, namely, the protection and enforcement of the equal rights of men.

Discontent has its origin chiefly in the popular consciousness that wrongs of the kinds suggested, and others like them, are permitted to exist under our system. Men feel that they do not enjoy that perfectly equal liberty which they know to be their natural right. They feel that they are oppressed by the denial to them of a perfectly equal chance with other men, and, in their impatience, they lose their faith in the system, and attribute to it as an imperfection that which is due in fact to its transgression.

The first step towards the permanent cure of discontent and the complete restoration of loyalty to our free system, should be an earnest endeavor actually and perfectly to reduce the American idea to practice. It should be the care of statesmen and publicists to search out every particular in which the law deprives any man of his perfect equality of right and privilege with other men, and every particular in which the law, by its imperfection, permits men to take to themselves rights and privileges in excess of their equal share. It should be the care of every citizen to insist that the principle of individual liberty and equality of right is fearlessly and relentlessly applied and enforced. Then shall our system work justice and righteousness, and then shall the American idea commend itself to all minds as the consummate flower of truth and wisdom in the regulation of human affairs.

GEORGE CARY EGGLESTON.

AMERICAN HISTORY IN THE FRENCH ARCHIVES.

THE nature of the public sentiment which led Lafayette to help the Americans, and which finally forced a reluctant government to openly declare war against England, is clearly explained in Taine's *Ancien Régime;* it may be briefly summed up as a wide-spread philanthropic sentiment, due to the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists, in which abstract ideas about "Nature" and the "Rights of Man" superseded all other ideas and theories hitherto accepted in relation to law, authority, and social development generally. The outbreak in America, being a rebellion against tyranny, afforded an opportunity to generous spirits like Lafayette's to carry them out. France and England, although at peace at that time, were hereditary enemies. But it was those new theories which filled the public mind, and prevailed especially among the cultivated class, which forced the French Government to aid the Americans.

Conrad-Alexandre Gérard de Rayneval was the first French minister sent to the United States. He belonged to an Alsatian family, and was for a time, anterior to this mission, chief clerk at Paris in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Sent to the United States in 1778, he returned to France in company with John Jay, in 1779, on account of ill health. During his sojourn of a year in Philadelphia he occupied a house within sixty paces of the State-house, where the Continental Congress met, and its members daily consulted him. He enjoyed the privilege of attending the sessions, especially when relations with the French were under discussion. Congress held its sittings with closed doors, and, as reporters were not then known, and no detailed record of the debates was kept, Gérard de Rayneval's correspondence is peculiarly interesting, furnishing, as it does, together with that of Luzerne afterwards, in the words of Mr. Bancroft, "the most complete reports which exist of the discussions in Congress from 1778 to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789. . . . The French ministers knew how to obtain information on every proceeding that interested their country." Not only does he recount the doings and sayings of Congressmen, but his letters likewise contain reports on the political state of the

country, vivid pictures of the society of the day, and particularly interesting traits of prominent men. He died in France in 1790. To a philosophic mind he united great tact and sagacity, and was eminently qualified for his post.

Gérard de Rayneval reached Philadelphia early in July, 1778. The ship on which he came stopped at Chester, on the Delaware River, just below the city. Four members of Congress, with Hancock at their head, waited upon him on his arrival. In his account of his reception to the Count de Vergennes, July 15, he says:

"Nothing can equal the eagerness of members of Congress and other leading men to call on me and express their sentiments in relation to the alliance and on the steps taken by the King. I fear that I should be charged with exaggeration were I to state the terms which the most phlegmatic employ in their daily conversation with me. They call the King 'Protector of the rights of Humanity,' which is always the toast in his honor."

Ten days after this, July 25, he makes some general comments:

"Party spirit exists in Congress, as in all bodies. Some want rotation in office, and others such an arrangement as will keep them in office—a sort of aristocracy."

Two members of Congress had brought their sons to see the new envoy at Chester, in order to impress them early that the sending of a minister of the King to their country at this decisive moment was well calculated to fix their affections and their political principles.

Wishing to make some return for the honors paid to him on his arrival, he proposed a dinner with a ball after it. The obstacle to this affords a glimpse of social life. He says, August 24:

"But as they wanted to draw an absolute line of separation between Whigs and Tories, especially among the ladies, they gave me to understand that they would be obliged to me if I would not furnish, by my example, arms to either party. I regard this as treating matters rather seriously, but, besides this, a law of Congress is brought up which forbids public entertainments. This law emanated from the northern Presbyterians at a time when Congress fervently called upon heaven for its aid. Dispositions are now changed, and there are quite a number of senators who dance every week. Northern hardness becomes tempered alongside of Southern sensuousness; and yet there is hesitation in repealing this law. I presume, Monseigneur, you are not indifferent to knowing something on the moral disposition of the country."

Subsequently, November 24, he has more to communicate on this subject:

"The Philadelphia papers contain two resolutions passed by Congress. . . . The second is a renewal of the request made by the States to interdict dances, spectacles, and races. The very day this resolution was published a public (theatrical) performance, given by army officers and Whig citizens, was to take

place. The following day the Governor of Philadelphia gave a ball, numerously attended. Congress, finding that its simple recommendation was not a law, prepared a resolution on the 16th to enforce it, which rendered incapable of employment any officer who should take part in or attend any spectacle. On the other hand, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina regard horse-racing as a national affair. It is the northern members, called the Presbyterian party, that delight in passing moral laws so as to keep their credit and rigor in full exercise. Such contests interfere with important business. It is plain to me that the delays which have occurred since I came originate in these."

The following item has interest in connection with the civil service:

"Congress has determined to give its President a salary sufficient for the usual display attached to the office. A house is hired for him, suitably furnished; a butler to provide for his table; and he is furnished with a carriage and horses."

Whether all this is owing to peculations, of which there are numerous instances, or to relieve the President of domestic cares, and give him more time to attend to public business, he does not know.

"In general," he says, alluding to Congress, "the pay of its members is not in accordance with the dignity of the post. Some States give their representatives very little, and always energetically dispute their accounts. No one member lives becomingly, and none can give a dinner except at a tavern. One result of this poor pay is, whenever a member finds that his business suffers, he leaves, and his State has no representative. The principle of rotation in office produces a similar effect. The southern members carry out this principle, while the northern members, especially from New England, seldom change their delegates, or other officers."

Political feeling is thus depicted:

"Everybody, almost, refuses to testify (against the insolence of the Tories). The Quakers, especially, are accused of rendering all sorts of services to the English army. . . . Scarcely one quarter of the ordinary inhabitants of Philadelphia now here favor the cause (of independence). Commercial and family ties, together with an aversion to popular government, seem to account for this. The same feeling exists in New York and Boston, which is not the case in the rural districts, where the people are more 'cultivators than merchants.'"

After this, August 12, an estimate of the Continental Congress is given:

"My purpose in this letter is to picture to you the responsibility and internal composition of Congress, as well as the way in which the States are disposed to regard its authority and organization.

"The result of my researches goes to confirm the idea I had the honor of transmitting to you on the credit which Congress enjoys. It has succeeded in securing the entire confidence of the State Government as well as of the citizens. Whatever emanates from it is received with a sort of veneration. This happy disposition is essentially due to the constant care it takes not to decide any important question before preparing the minds of the people for it, and after having

assured itself of their sentiments. This is also due to the unanimity with which important affairs are considered and to its extreme deference to the special (State) governments. The rights of State sovereignty are so carefully respected by it that the resolutions passed by some of the legislative bodies, often contrary to the measures recommended by Congress, do not affect the consideration in which it is held. An example of this is found in the important question of how the Tories shall be treated. Congress had recommended mild and legal measures. Some States, especially Virginia and the Carolinas, have, on the contrary, exercised the most arbitrary and rigid authority in this particular. . . . I content myself now by observing that the heads of the (State) Government, having no distrust and no suspicion of Congress aiming to extend its influence, are interested in maintaining a consideration for it by which they profit in turn. This policy is all the more beneficial because the most esteemed leaders and the best heads, which directed the Revolution at the start, have accepted the highest offices in their States, especially in the South. The really laborious and dull lives of the members of Congress, their remoteness from their own affairs, the luxurious habits and turn of mind, somewhat monarchical, of the large proprietors of the South, who have not organized their colonies on the popular principles of the North, and who are accustomed only to commanding a large number of slaves, have greatly contributed to this change (a deference to Federal authority); but the personal humor of these leaders has, so far, had no effect on the disposition of their constituents, who are still more concerned than those of the North in maintaining a rotation in congressional functions. Since I came here three members, one from Maryland, one from Georgia, and one from South Carolina, have been summarily removed without any charge being preferred against them, and these changes have been frequent for some time past.

"It is evident that the successive admission of so large a number of individuals into Congress prevents many able men from being there, men of such preponderating influence as when Congress was first organized. From this point of view it is not so well composed, although it contains persons of great merit. But I do not know whether, stopping at general results, its actual state is not preferable. It contributes, in effect, to a maintenance of the confidence which the slightest jealousy or distrust would soon impair. It forms a large body of subjects imbued with the principles peculiar to the common Constitution of the American republic, and always readily finding their way into heads organized according to other habits and in which old prejudices are often confounded with the current axioms of the day. A very great advantage is that Congress is kept dependent on the people, better preserves its general spirit, and is never in a condition to abuse its power. An equivocal expression escaping in debate suffices for the immediate revocation of a member, and, in multiplying this danger by the petty intrigues of personal jealousy, of which the best accredited are not found exempt after a too prolonged absence from their States, it appears that the ambition of private persons and of public bodies is thus restrained by a powerful curb."

Following this sagacious comment there are other remarks on questions which divide northern and southern sentiment; and the letter concludes with this statement, which will again serve our purpose further on:

"Another question which has warmly divided Congress is the rivalry between

Generals Washington and Gates. The division is almost that between the southern and northern States; the former support Washington, who is a Virginian. This general, whose conduct seems to have merited the esteem of Europe, and who couples virtues with talents, has been vigorously attacked with all the arms that envy can supply. The split was getting to be dangerous. The evacuation of Philadelphia and the battle of Monmouth decided the question, and the partisans of General Gates are reduced to silence. Fears, however, are entertained that the proud spirit of the latter may manifest itself on the junction of the two armies. Thus far, all has passed off well between the two generals."

The foregoing estimate of the Continental Congress on its good side is followed, in another letter of the same date, by an estimate of its weak side; the former is "*le Congrès en beau*" and the other "*les Vices du Congrès.*"

"I have thus far depicted the good side of Congress, because I have taken the point of view of its attachment to independence and to the alliance, which is the most important point for us. But it is now time that you should know it as well on its feeble side, so as to appreciate it as a whole. Most of the members who sit in Congress owe their places to their zeal for the American cause, as it is commonly called. But little attention, however, has been paid to the talents that are requisite for the enormous labor which every branch of the Administration demands, and which it manages exclusively. In some departments there is not a member who is familiar with their details. If one member happens to be more conspicuous than another on account of his intelligence, private jealousy and the principle of anticipating personal ascendency throws him in the background. A competent merchant on the Committee on Commerce is transferred to that of Foreign Affairs, and again displaced because he is suspected of making money out of secret information. There are many colonels and generals in Congress, but none are employed on the war committees. The result is, Monseigneur, the Administration is extremely backward at all points wherever a fixed system and regularity in details are essential. The arrangements for the organization, recruiting, and regular service of the continental troops remain in suspense, as well as a number of other matters. The finances, especially, suffer a great deal. . . . Congress is the universal merchant and provider. You can appreciate the effect of a lack of order in such an immensely important detail, the accompanying loss and inconvenience, especially when you consider that, by this course, it enters into competition with private merchants, who cannot be forced to provide the State with the goods it needs.

"I am sorry to be obliged to add, Monseigneur, that personal disinterestedness and pecuniary integrity have shed no lustre on the birth of the American republic. All its agents have derived exorbitant profits from manufactures. A selfish and calculating spirit is widespread in this land, and although I can well see that limits are put to its extension, there is no condemnation of the sentiment. Mercantile cupidity forms, perhaps, one of the distinctive traits of the Americans, especially of the northern people, and it will undoubtedly exercise an important influence on the future destiny of the Republic."

The attentive observer of our legislation for the past forty years may decide for himself whether this is not prophetic language. The

writer continues to comment on those evils "which have existed since the republic began, and more than once imperilled its safety." In this connection he says :

"If the English had shown themselves, in America, one-half as energetic, confident, and courageous as they had only too often shown themselves elsewhere, they would have found very little resistance.

"The more apparent this contrast is here, the plainer does the hand of God appear in this event ; had it not been for the generous part taken by the king (Louis XVI.) at the decisive moment, there is every reason to believe that the resources of the country would not have sufficed to enable its independence to be obtained."

How true this observation is will be shown further on.

One of the most interesting letters of Gérard de Rayneval is that on the Quakers, dated September 18, 1778 :

"The following details in regard to the Quakers, which I have the honor to transmit to you, are of a mixed character.

"At the beginning of the troubles, when the colonies rebelled against the (English) project of deriving a revenue from America, the Quakers had the most influence in the government of Pennsylvania. With one exception, all agreed to defend by force of arms the exemption from every tax. Previous to this they had voted for the war against the Indians, and when the question of independence came up, the Quakers opposed it with all their might. Steps were then taken to excite the English and German population of the remoter sections of the colony, and Pennsylvania fell in with the sentiments of the other colonies. Upon this the Quakers made an outcry against war taxes, which placed them in such contradiction with themselves as to increase their discredit.

"During the occupation of Philadelphia by the English, proofs were obtained of the services rendered to them by the Quakers ; some of these were caught acting as spies, and, as it has been thus far the mistaken policy of the fraternity to support all individuals belonging to it, the odium and blame of this have reacted against the whole body. This devotedness did not preserve them from the exactions of the English, who disposed of whatever suited them, even of the furniture inside their houses. The Quakers furnished General Howe with money to redeem themselves, notwithstanding which their houses and gardens in Philadelphia were destroyed ; a prominent man among them who had given a considerable sum to Lord Howe, publicly reproached him, and declared that he would follow him wherever he went to recover the value of his dwelling.

"These barbarous proceedings, which have made more Whigs in America than there are Tories now, have not had the same effect on the Quakers. You will remember, Monseigneur, a document full of a kind of arrogance which they had circulated in the State of Pennsylvania, where they no longer are representatives. The only result was the indignation and contempt of the Whigs : but real or affected sentiment has no shame, and they rather borrowed glory from this on the ground of persecution. This feeling, however, did not last, and when the news came of the evacuation of New York (taken by the British), it was believed that, through secret intelligence, they were aware of it, and, afterwards, that they would try to make up with the actual Government. The President of Congress notified me that they would confer with me. They sounded him beforehand, and several deputations waited upon him, who confined themselves to recommending private matters.

They went further with me. I will relate, Monseigneur, how this embassy was prepared and carried out.

"Only the Quakers possessed any merchandise; they had bought it at low prices of the English, at the time of the evacuation (of Philadelphia), and re-sold it very dear. This furnished me with opportunities to have relations with many of them, and the desire to judge for myself of the actual state of such a celebrated sect led me into conversations with them, which turned only on general matters relating to their sect and to their principles. One day, one of them bluntly said to me: 'Thee hast a good deal of trouble in finding furniture. Come into our houses and select what thee likes; thee wilt then address thyself to Congress, and Congress will take from us to give to thee at any price thee pleases.' I felt the full force of the insult. I asked him why he did not pay voluntarily. 'Our religion forbids us,' he replied. 'I fear then,' said I in return, 'that, as people say of you, you have an easy conscience when you are called upon to give money and take trouble for things which do not suit you, and that a religion which has no other public influence in society than to produce avarice and an inordinate love of ease and indolence must strike enlightened people as a mask for hypocrisy.' I manifested a desire to have this doubt cleared up. This led to a discussion, which ended by the Quaker telling me that he would bring me a person who knew more than himself, able to solve my doubts, and with whom I could explain myself in French. The name of this person is Benezet, son of a French refugee, who has turned Quaker, and who is a man of intelligence and learning. He prepared me for the mission by sending me one of the brethren, who praised highly the merit and virtues of this sort of patriarch.

"Finally he came, and we had several conversations on the history, principles, and career of his sect. It was only at our last interview, two days ago, that he at last declared, yielding to my arguments, that, agreeing with most of the fraternity, he thought that the Quakers ought to submit to the actual Government and pay taxes, without questioning the use to which they might be put; but that they had weak brethren among them, whose scruples they were obliged to respect. I made him sensible of the dangers of this mistaken policy, one which involved a loss of public esteem universally, and warranted the distrust and rigorous measures of the Government. I remarked to him that since they had been able to secure the confidence of the English Administration, the principles of which differed so much from their own, it would be easy to come to terms with a government tolerant in principles and which would not persecute them when once combined with it. Sieur Benezet seemed to have resolved to expound these truths; he ended by begging me to favor the fraternity, and especially to exercise my good offices in behalf of some Mennonites affiliated with them, who had been imprisoned and fined for not taking up arms. I replied that it was not in my mission to arrest the energies of the American Government, and that when the Quakers had performed their duties they would no longer be in fear of persecution.

"The President of Congress expressed his best thanks to me for the way in which I had conducted myself in this affair, and begged me to treat the ulterior demands of the Quakers in the same fashion."

Subsequently, May 16, 1779, he says:

"The Quakers keep constantly asking me to mediate in their behalf and to give them advice. I have confined myself to recommending them to again become citizens and to resume their place in the republic. They begin to realize the illusion

of their expectations, and there is good reason to believe that, however the campaign may turn out, the sect will submit. This would be of great advantage to the United States, because the number, wealth, and consideration of the Quakers is, alone of itself, that which gives standing to the Tory party. Congress, to which I report the requests of the Quakers, is satisfied with my conduct and with my replies to them."

De Rayneval's first interview with Washington, who came to Philadelphia to arrange the campaign for the following year, is recorded under date of December 25, 1778:

"General Washington arrived a few days ago, amidst public acclamations. I have had repeated conversations with him. It is impossible to express one's self in better terms on the alliance, and the gratitude due to his Majesty, who is called their benefactor. . . . . Washington seems to deserve, as a man and a citizen, as much praise as for his military talent."

On the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1779, the French envoy orders a *Te Deum* sung in the Catholic Church. In his reports on the anti-patriotic sentiments of various sectarians he is not partial to those of his own religion:

"It is the first ceremony of the kind in the thirteen States, and it is thought that the *eclat* of it will have a beneficial effect on the Catholics, of whom quite a large number are suspected of not being very much attached to the American cause. My chaplain delivered a short address, which has obtained general approbation and which Congress has demanded for publication."

The foregoing extracts add to our stock of information on colonial society at the time of the Revolution, and are especially interesting on account of the observer's point of view. They give a good idea of the writer's intellectual powers, his intelligence, his knowledge of men and of society, his tact and impartiality, in short, of the spirit in which he fulfilled the difficult mission intrusted to him. Equally entertaining and instructive matter abounds in subsequent letters. Not the least interesting is the information he gives of men who played secondary parts in the revolutionary drama, but who were not the less valuable agents in achieving the independence of the country. One of these men is Doctor Cooper, a clergyman of Boston, friend of Doctor Franklin, and "one of the best speakers in Massachusetts." Doctor Cooper had voluntarily published several articles in defence of Count d'Estaing, against whom, as well as against the French generally, General Sullivan had excited public sentiment in New England. Pleased with these articles, de Rayneval expressed his thanks to Doctor Cooper, and engaged a mutual friend to propose to him to further exercise his talents in the same direction. The doctor accepted his proposal, and accord-

ingly received a regular salary "as indemnity for what he had suffered in the common cause, as well as to enable him to employ a vicar, so that he might give himself up wholly to the work he undertook."

Another valuable assistant employed was General Sullivan, who seems to have become aware of the mistake he had committed in fostering bad feeling against the French. Under French pay he is one of the most energetic and successful agents both in Congress and in connection with the army.

Still another able but unreliable man employed in the same cause was that unscrupulous Englishman, Tom Paine, bought and rebought twice by de Rayneval and Luzerne together, and finally discredited on all sides until, becoming destitute, he got to be a sort of pensioner of the American Government, in consideration of his journalistic services at the outbreak of the Revolution.* But our limited space forbids our dwelling on these and other characters; and we must pass on to more important concerns.

What we know of social and political affairs during the Revolutionary War, obtained through traditions, private letters, the newspapers of the day, vaguely in the common histories of that event, and more clearly in the documents of the French archives, satisfies me that there were at this time two sorts of great men in the country, one local and the other national, or, in other words, a set of public men strenuous for state rights in contradistinction to those who made state rights subservient to national interests. Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Livingston, and others among the Virginian statesmen represent the latter class, while John and Samuel Adams, and the New Englanders, excepting Jonathan Trumbull and a few others in the background, represent the former class. It is certain that John and Samuel Adams, with Richard Henry Lee and his brother, exceptionally among the Virginians, largely impeded the efforts of Washington and Franklin to profit to the fullest extent by the French alliance, on which success in achieving independence depended. Such, at all events, is our judgment, derived from the correspondence under consideration. To make the above distinction between local and national great men fully understood, it is necessary, by way of preface, briefly to state the leading

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* Cf. *History of the People of the United States*, by John Bach McMaster, Vol. I., pp. 152–154.

political questions which agitated the Continental Congress, and of which there is no better detailed history than this correspondence affords.

One of these was the Fishery question, very important, of course, at that time to New England, but which the other States of the Confederation thought was pushed too far in her interest, without reciprocation to them. De Rayneval says, May 14, 1779:

> "Whatever opinions on the subject the present members of Congress may entertain, nine, and perhaps ten, States will refuse to continue the war for this accessory advantage to New England, which offers no reciprocity of interests."

Coupled with this question is that of the invasion of Canada and the possession of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, which the New England representatives emphasize in Congress. Washington, in a strong report, treating the question on its military merits, decides against it, which sets the point at rest for a time. Subsequently, he is disposed to favor an attack on Canada, to keep the army busy, but the French refuse, on the ground that they simply undertook to free the original thirteen colonies, and not to make new conquests.

The effort to bring Spain over to the side of the rebellious colonies, so as to obtain additional aid from that country, which effort was complicated by boundary and other questions affecting the United States and the Spanish colonies alongside of them, gave rise to a great deal of discussion.

To the cabal against Washington must be added one against Franklin. Both were rendered abortive by diplomatic skill in America as well as in Paris. Louis XVI. and his ministers, perfectly assured of the integrity of Franklin and Washington, and that these two men represented the real moral and material forces of the country, depended on them almost entirely.

Of all questions, however, that disturbed the Continental Congress, the Peace question was the most serious. It continued to be a stormy question down to the capitulation of Cornwallis. England tried repeatedly to negotiate a peace directly and indirectly in America and in France; overtures were made to that end by various individuals, and commissioners were appointed for the purpose. There is no doubt that many in America who were not Tories were anxious for peace, with a view to future commercial if not social relations with England; and there is equally no doubt that the chief political leaders of New England were not disposed to consult French interests in relation thereto. On all these questions Samuel Adams,

especially, was opposed to the French. The French Government naturally studied this situation very closely. These questions engrossed the attention of Congress at the height of the struggle; the reader will see the bearing of the allusions to them by the French minister in the following extracts from his correspondence.

As early as December 6, 1778, he writes to Vergennes that he suspects a Mr. Temple, who appeared in Philadelphia with letters of introduction from Massachusetts, of being a British spy, sent to the United States to sow distrust of France, and to effect a separate reconciliation with England. Laurens, at that time President of Congress, assures him that Temple will be dismissed, and that Samuel Adams himself, despite a warm personal interest in Temple, is similarly disposed. Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, pretended that the United States had a right to treat separately with England.

Members of Congress "have assured me," says de Rayneval, "that the assertion of Lee was received with contempt and indignation; that a plurality even of the delegates of his own State and of those of Massachusetts, in spite of the influence of Mr. Samuel Adams, thought with Congress that such a principle would be a manifest infraction of the alliance and a lasting dishonor to the United States. . . . All the delegates . . . affirmed to me that there were not two men in Congress capable of listening to any of Temple's proposals, but that the conduct of the State of Massachusetts hampered (*gênait*) their resolution."

Congress, it must be borne in mind, sat with closed doors, and its members were careful not to divulge what went on, except in the case of Gérard de Rayneval, with whom it was agreed to communicate its political doings without reserve. The army had petitioned that the sittings of Congress should be public, especially on all matters connected with the war, but without effect. Silas Deane had published a pamphlet relating to these matters, "which," says the envoy "was not distasteful to the plurality of the members of Congress, wearied and ashamed of the ascendency which it had allowed to the party headed by Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams." Samuel Adams afterward called on de Rayneval and "swore to me that he had seen Temple but once at his house, and that he had only been polite to him because recommended to him by the State which he represented." (Letter of December 12, 1778.)

Continuing the subject a fortnight later, the French agent adds:

"The Congressional Committee is much excited over the answer to be made to me in relation to the doctrine of Mr. Lee. The answer of four of its members has been confidentially communicated to me, and it is perfectly satisfactory. But the fifth member, Mr. Samuel Adams, the friend of Mr. Lee, does not agree to it, and

tries to persuade the others that peace, being regulated by the treaty, does not require so explicit an answer. I have fortified his colleagues against such false reasoning, and hope that they will adhere to their opinion."

Both Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams write to him with a view to exculpate themselves; his distrust, however, is not removed, for "I know positively," he says, "that it is Mr. Adams alone who, by his petty ruses and cavilling, hinders the communication to me of a positive and satisfactory reply, which the other members of the Committee adopted long ago."

The nature of the Peace question in the hands of the politicians of that day is clearly apparent in the above statements. It is the beginning of the end, finally accomplished by John Adams in his discreditable negotiations for peace with England, in 1782, in violation of the treaty with France, which gave umbrage to Vergennes and caused chagrin to Franklin. The following series of extracts, long but conclusive, explains this political situation. On March 10, 1779, de Rayneval had written to the Count de Vergennes:

"Our friends (in Congress) began yesterday to attack their opponents. They first brought up the principle of treating with France and of showing perfect confidence in her. The Lee faction was actively and advantageously pushed back to its last intrenchments. Mr. Samuel Adams was so irritated as to abandon his usual reserve and exclaim, 'Why must we unite our interests so closely with those of France? Here,' he continued, stamping on the floor, 'is the place where our independence must be established.'"

Such an exclamation at such a time, when Washington at home and Franklin abroad were straining every nerve to secure French aid, and knew the absolute necessity of deferring to French conditions for furnishing it, could be no other than one of those pseudo-patriotic outbursts which appeal more to buncombe than to common sense. It may be explained by the same intellectual grasp of things as is apparent in the following anecdote, which we give *en passant*. Du Ponceau, Steuben's secretary, made the acquaintance of many eminent men in Boston, among whom were John Hancock and Samuel Adams. The latter, hearing Du Ponceau express republican ideas, asked him where he got them. "In France," replied Du Ponceau. "That is impossible!" rejoined Samuel Adams; whereupon Du Ponceau exclaimed, "Because a man is born in a stable does that make him a horse?"

M. de Rayneval reports, May 6, 1779:

"I have continued my research in order to discover the real object of the opposition. The members of Congress whom I have interrogated reply almost

unanimously that Samuel Adams wanted a continuance of the troubles in order to maintain his own importance, and that his association with R. H. Lee originated in their mutual support of John Adams and Arthur Lee; that the object of the delays, which this party excites by all sorts of ruses, was to avoid the appointment of a plenipotentiary (for negotiating peace) because it felt that the latter would not obtain a vote of the present Congress. I observed to one of the most esteemed members that I admitted these motives and personal views, but that I was strongly disposed to think, according to the action in common of the opposition, that its views extended farther; and that Messrs. Samuel Adams and Lee intended to postpone the decision in order that the English commissioners, who were to make new overtures to the States, might arrive; that they undoubtedly flattered themselves they would forestall the confidence of the commissioners, so as to render themselves masters of the negotiations, have these take place in America, and thus obtain a credit which would counterbalance that acquired by the opposite party in concluding the treaty with the King of France. I supported this conjecture by the statement he himself had made to me, that these two men had insisted that Congress should treat with the last English commission after the arrival and ratification of our treaties."

May 7, he says, "Boston is the theatre of the opposition party." Next day he continues:

"The personal tie between Messrs. Adams and Lee dates from the beginning of the troubles. It was through the good offices of the former that Mr. Arthur Lee procured the agency in London of the State of Massachusetts Bay. Hence the political importance of Lee, who showed his gratitude by every sort of reciprocal kindness. The Virginians are not the only ones who entered into the quarrel with ideas of political freedom and independence. When these ideas began to work in the other provinces, the Eastern States affected a pride and a tone of superiority which circumstances favored, and which engendered the desire to dominate over a freedom they had founded, while the esteem they had acquired, whether on account of their popularity, and other advantages which they thought they possessed, led them to believe that this preëminence was their due. Lee, through his connection with Adams, readily entered into a project suited to his character. He has a secret ambition, dissimulation equal to that of the people of the East, rigidity of manners, and the gravity that is natural to the Presbyterians. He is laborious, intelligent, and supple, so far as is requisite in a growing republic. His first successes in Congress secured him the confidence of his province. He felt that, in uniting with four provinces which had agreed to be always of the same opinion, it would be easy for them to be in the plurality, or, at least, to exercise a tribunal power. Success answered their hopes, and, for a long time, they ruled Congress. They began to lose standing only when the elections brought about a new composition of this body. One of the most important objects of this league was to hinder the army from obtaining too much credit. It affected a dread of its power, and allowed itself every sort of proceeding and imputation in justification of this pretended dread. They prevented the army from arriving at any degree of stability. It is certain that if General Washington were ambitious and an intriguer he might have effected a revolution; but nothing on the part of this general, nor of the army, has caused the slightest umbrage; the principle that the quality of citizen is first, and that of officer second, is constantly on the general's lips. The policy of the faction on this point is to secure for the Eastern States and Virginia, in times of peace, the ascendency which these powerful

provinces will possess over both the States and the armies, for lack of a force common to the States, and under the direction of the general power of Congress. Hence the idea which has obtained such credit here, of revising the army when peace is declared, and of only retaining a small corps of provincial soldiery. The Eastern States would find this to their advantage, because they are already provided with a numerous militia.

"Another view of the faction, which I had the honor of transmitting to you, is to bring about the necessity of peace in such a way as to negotiate directly with England, and stipulate some sort of alliance with this power, the credit of which would sustain the faction. Such is the purpose to which its conduct constantly tended, when its two chiefs at Yorktown voted and manœuvred so obstinately to bring about a negotiation with the English commissioners, even after the arrival of the treaties, and when Lee maintained that open hostilities did not deprive the States of the liberty of treating with Great Britain. It is, probably, through a consequence of this same system that Messrs. Adams and Lee do all in their power to render our present negotiations impossible, so that the new English commissioners may have time to get here, of whose confidence they are assured, and with whom they flatter themselves they can treat.

"Many members have repeated their assurances to me that Congress was not disposed to treat, except under the King's auspices and in the face of all Europe.

"The crisis between the two parties is at hand, and, to all appearances, their fate will be decided by the issue of the debates."

Whether the surmises of Gérard de Rayneval were, or were not, entirely correct, it is evident that he was well informed, sagacious in his political observations, and governed by the opinions of those who studied and upheld national interests. May 4, he says:

"General Washington and several general officers have told me that if the army knew that Congress wished to take action against the alliance it would be disposed to revolt. No patriots are more reliable nor more zealous. The principal officers have taken special pains to assure me, in the most positive and satisfactory manner, concerning the dispositions of the people of their States. General Sullivan, especially, has made every possible advance to me, so as to leave no doubt about what he thinks. . . . I have had repeated conversations with General Washington, some of which were three hours long; it is impossible for me to give a connected account of them, but I shall carefully avail myself of what he said in my letters, according as the opportunity presents itself. I content myself now by stating that I have conceived as much esteem for this general in relation to his intelligence, moderation, patriotism, and integrity as for his military talents and the incalculable services which he has rendered to his country."

On the Fishery question coming up, June 12, 1779, he writes:

The danger arising from Adams and Lee pressing the Fishery question is "lessened by the absence of R. H. Lee and Samuel Adams. Lee has been accused in open session of the Virginia Assembly of having sacrificed the best interests of America and of the alliance, while the storm raised against Samuel Adams in Boston has just compelled him to return there." "These two champions find it necessary to change their language on account of public clamor. They are now doing what they can to make it appear that they were eager for peace, and to

throw the blame of delays on their antagonists." "All the States approve of the decision in favor of France."

The members from Virginia, New York, Maryland, New Jersey, and Connecticut, and several members from other States, express warmest thanks to de Rayneval for "the truths presented by him to Congress for the last four months," through which he was able to circumvent Lee and Adams.

But the time for the departure of the French envoy was drawing near. In September, 1779, Congress passed a resolution requesting him, in the most complimentary manner, to sit for his portrait. This portrait was painted by Charles Wilson Peale, full length, and it is now in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. The address of Congress to Gérard de Rayneval thus concludes:

"Sir, we should be deficient in the respectdue to distinguished merit if we should fail to embrace this opportunity of testifying to the high esteem which you have obtained throughout this country by your public and private conduct.

"You have happily combined a vigilant devotion for the dignity and interests of our most excellent and illustrious ally with a generous attachment to the honor and welfare of these States.

"Your prudence, integrity, ability, and diligence in discharging the eminent trust reposed in you have secured our entire confidence, and now solicit from us the strongest declaration of our satisfaction in your behavior.

"That you may be blessed with a favorable voyage, the approbation of your sovereign, the perfect recovery of your health, and all happiness is among the warmest wishes of every member of this body.

"JOHN JAY, President."

Other bodies offered him similar testimonials, as the "Merchants of Philadelphia" and "The President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania." The address of the latter runs:

"I assure you, sir, it gives me infinite satisfaction that I have this opportunity of declaring to you, in the behalf of the House and of all the freemen of Pennsylvania, that your name and your services to America will be held in grateful remembrance so long as the love of liberty and our extensive empire shall remain amongst the nations. . . . Your eminent services in forming the union between the two nations, and your conduct . . . will fully justify in the opinion of the world this special mark of our attention and respect, and transmit your name to posterity among the first and most distinguished friends of this rising empire.

"JOS. REED, President."

J. DURAND.

RECOLLECTIONS OF DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS.*

THE parents of Strauss were members of the Evangelical Established Church of the Kingdom of Würtemberg. His mother was a pious Christian, and became greatly distressed when her son first published his criticisms on the Gospels. His father was a nominal Christian, neither a pietist, making a profession of experimental religion, nor yet a freethinker. I learned that he was at first gratified by the fame of his son, but expressed his disapproval as he went farther and farther in his sceptical career. I was also informed that young Strauss had some deep religious impressions at the time of his confirmation. This is corroborated by a poem or hymn called "Jesus," which he composed about that time, and which I have seen in print.

My personal acquaintance with him began when I entered the seminary at Blaubeuren, one of the four preparatory seminaries provided by the state for the training of candidates for future ministerial service in the Established Church. Strauss and I entered at the same time. This was in 1821, when I was in my fourteenth or fifteenth year. He was about the same age. The class in which we entered numbered fifty.

The state of Würtemberg provided a free course of study extending over seven years (four in the seminary and three in the University of Tübingen) for those who wished to enter the ministry of the Established Church. Prior to admission to the seminary the candidates had been subjected to three annual examinations on their general scholarship and talents. Only fifty out of about one hundred applicants were admitted each year; the selection being made simply on the ground of mental proficiency and evidence of increasing diligence, without reference to moral or religious considerations. The successful candidates were required to pass a rigid examination

* Of the circle in Blaubeuren and Tübingen in which the student life of Strauss was spent, Dr. William Nast of Cincinnati is now probably the only surviving member. His recollections of these earlier days have thus a unique value in themselves, as well as for the reason that the life of Strauss prior to the publication of his *Leben Jesu* is so little known, and is of so great interest, as foreshadowing in important respects his future attitude of mind in dealing with questions of religion and philosophy.—THE EDITOR.

in the elements of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew grammar. The course of the seminary comprised four years devoted to the critical reading of the classics and of the Scriptures, with instruction also in logic, philosophy, and ancient and modern history. At the expiration of four years, as each class was advanced to the university, a fresh one entered. The seminary which Strauss and I attended was at Blaubeuren, near Ulm. The Ephorus (president) was orthodox, but manifested as little of personal religion as the two professors, who were very thorough classical scholars and rationalists. One of them, our Greek professor, was the celebrated Ferdinand Christian Baur, who afterwards became the father of the mythical theory and furnished the substratum for the *Life of Jesus*, by Strauss. Both professors happened to be called to the University of Tübingen with our class.

I was the only one in our class who professed religion, in the sense of an experimental faith in the divinity and atonement of Christ. My surroundings in the seminary—the spirit of the professors as well as that of my fellow-students—chilled me. I had no spiritual instruction or encouragement, except from the letters of my Christian relatives, who themselves did not fully understand my needs, and from what I read in the older spiritual treasuries, as Arndt's *Wahres Christenthum*, Spener's and Franke's writings, the old hymn-books, and Thomas à Kempis. The religious attitude of the class could not be expected to be better than the instruction which we received. Our professors were enthusiastic admirers of the classics. The Greek and Roman heroes, statesmen, poets, and philosophers were held up to us as the great lights of humanity. The Old and New Testaments were read in the original tongues, but not as the inspired Word of God; not for edification and theological instruction, but as an exercise in linguistic criticism.

In the seminary at Blaubeuren I continued to be a classmate with Strauss throughout the four years of the course. His moral deportment was unexceptionable, and all through his course he complied strictly with all the rules. Just as his handwriting was beautiful, like print, so he was precise in all his conduct. Corresponding to this was his physique. He had regular features, like a marble statue, and was as pale as the marble itself. His most striking characteristic was the peculiarly polite manner in which he habitually addressed his fellow-students, often using the Latin and Greek salutations, as *humanissime* or *illustrissime*, in the undercurrent of which there was a vein of fine irony. We never were sure he fully meant

what he said. We could not take his words to mean what they appeared to mean. With all this affability and politeness, he could not disguise a certain selfishness, which was perhaps the fundamental feature of his character, and which appeared in his habit of consulting his own interests first, and in his penuriousness. This trait afterwards caused great trouble between him and his wife. He married a beautiful actress, who expected to receive a large sum of money from the sale of his books, and, being disappointed, charged him with ungentlemanly stinginess.

To the question whether Strauss indicated, while in the preparatory seminary, his extreme sceptical bent, it is difficult to give a categorical reply. In a peculiar, yet disguised or equivocal, way, however, I may say that he did. In the seminary the students had no fixed religious opinions, and no care for the supernatural. But, besides this, even before we were advanced to the university, and still more during our metaphysical course there, Strauss manifested a strange inclination to seek out everything mysterious, with a strong desire to investigate the abnormal and the exaggerated. He liked to read ghost stories, and hunted up the books of the Mystics, Paracelsus, Jacob Boehme, and others, especially the accounts of the sympathetic cures, which were then practised in Würtemberg more than in any other part of Germany. In the first year of our university course a number of students made up an excursion party, to go a few miles out in the country to an old peasant woman who told fortunes out of a coffee-pot. One by one we had our fortunes told. It made no impression on any of us except Strauss. He seemed disturbed, but would not tell us what had been said to him. It was about a year afterwards that I determined to break off my theological course and to give myself to the pursuit of *belles-lettres*, though it cost me my little patrimony; for every student who left the theologcal course before entering the ministry was bound to pay for every year he had enjoyed the free tuition, board, and grants for other expenses and comforts.

My parents were no longer living, and it was a great risk for me, without means, to attempt to gain a subsistence by my pen. It was at this time that I proposed to Strauss to go with me on a visit to Justinus Kerner, in Weinsberg. Kerner was a poet of the romantic school and a highly educated physician, of deep religious spirit. He had then under treatment a most remarkable woman. This woman had, in her magnetic dreams or trances, marvellous experiences and

strange revelations, which Kerner afterwards published under the title, *The Seeress of Prevorst.* When Kerner introduced me to her she said: "Your young friend makes a great deal of trouble for himself and his friends. He will soon start on a journey, but he will come back disappointed; and then I see him start again to a far-off country, and he will be satisfied." I had not said anything to Kerner about my plans. The prediction of the seeress came to pass in a remarkable way. Soon after my visit to Kerner I carried out my purpose of withdrawing from the course of ministerial training for the State Church, and of devoting myself to a literary career. I went, accordingly, to Dresden, to become personally acquainted with Ludwig Tieck, the father of the romantic school, whom I admired more than Goethe or Schiller among the German poets, and to whom I opened my heart. He received me very kindly and favored me with frequent personal interviews for nearly a month; but gave me the fatherly advice to return home and beg my brother-in-law, Prälat von Süskind, who held the highest ecclesiastical position in the kingdom (*Prälat und Präsident des Studienraths*), to let me resume my theological studies. Tieck also wrote a kind intercessory letter on my behalf; but my brother-in-law wisely judged it best not to grant my request, and advised me to go to America, where I would have a far better opportunity for a new career than by returning to Tübingen. Of all this Strauss became cognizant, but what impression it made on him at that time I do not know. I will remark here, however, that when he heard, years afterwards, of my conversion and introduction of Methodism among the Germans in America, he remarked to a classmate, in an ironical way: "I do not wonder at this. Nast never would have succeeded in any other but in just such a religious career as was opened to him in Methodism. It was not conceivable that, having become religious, he should remain an orthodox Lutheran."

But let us return to student days in the university. As a student there, Strauss was not noted for excellence in any particular subject at the expense of the rest. He was exact and systematic in all his studies, with a special interest in Hebrew, and stood near the head of his class. In his relations with his fellow-students, although he mingled with many of them freely, he was really intimate with none. In the club to which he and myself belonged there were some very gifted men. Among them were Waiblinger, a man of great poetic genius, somewhat after the style of Byron, and who,

like him, led a dissipated life and afterwards died in Rome; Pfitzer, who became a prominent politician in the revolution of 1848; Kaeferle, a genius in music; Moerike, a lyric poet of distinction, and professor of *belles-lettres* in the *Katharinenstift* in Stuttgart; Vischer, who afterwards gained renown by his writings on æsthetics, and who belonged to the school of negative criticism, with Baur, Strauss, Feuerbach, and others; Maerkolin, who distinguished himself in ecclesiastical politics, and, above all, Wilhelm Hoffman, who became the successor of Stier and Gess as Inspector of the great Mission Institute in Basle and subsequently Court-Preacher in Berlin, and General-Superintendent of the province of Brandenburg. Occasionally Christian Blumhardt, who became so widely known as pastor by his accomplishments through prayer, visited us, as also some others who did not participate with the majority of the students in drinking and duelling, and were therefore called "Philistines." Our club used to meet in a restaurant, where we had a room to ourselves. Here we spent most of our evenings in a social way over a glass of beer, without excess, and in reading or criticising new publications, and debating. Strauss's views were hard to ascertain. So long as I was personally acquainted with him, his real opinion on any point was seldom expressed. We had to put a question mark after everything he said. He never made a statement that was categorical, positive, final. He was, in fact, an agnostic, holding that nothing can be certainly known. When his *Leben Jesu* was published, my first impression, before reading the book, was that he had elaborated his mythical theory chiefly to cause a ferment in the theological world, and that he would, probably, after the various criticisms had appeared, publish a defence, in which, by skilfully assorting and utilizing the strongest points his critics had raised against him, he might endeavor to make a better plea than they had done in disproof of his own former objections. It would not have been unlike the character of the work, for there was nothing really original in it. He had only brought into a focus all the different lights that had been thrown by different writers, and especially by Professor Baur, on gospel history. Strauss was not a creative genius but a close observer, investigating critically every point he could get hold of, and then putting them all so skilfully together that they became one whole. He had a keen eye for circumstances, as well as for the temperaments and characteristics of men. He had, moreover, an excellent memory, and his intellectual ma-

chinery appeared to be in perfect order. So far as his emotional nature was concerned, he was as cold as a fish, appearing to have no emotions or excess of any kind. There was a strange reserve about him, and a curious fancy for the extravagant and the odd. Nothing interested him so much as some new phenomenon. He looked at the world simply as an object of speculation, and when seeking an explanation for any unusual phenomenon, he had a habit of saying: "Ah! we shall have to think about that."

After I left the university I did not see Strauss again. In 1857, however, when I was in Berlin attending the Evangelical Alliance, he came to hear me preach. I did not notice him in the audience, but Kaeferle told me afterward that he said, "Nast is not eloquent, but he made out his points. I am sorry I missed seeing him." When I met Kaeferle during my third and last visit to Germany, in 1877, and dined at his house, he said: "Strauss was very much interested in your career, always inquired about you, and said he regretted very much that he did not see you; although he made his fun, indulging in satirical remarks." But I must now come to the most solemn period of Strauss's life—when he was on his death-bed. It was during my last visit to Germany that I met, at Ludwigsburg—where Strauss was born, and where also he died and is buried—a gentleman who had been one of his personal friends and admirers. To show me how firmly Strauss adhered to his principles to the last, this gentleman told me the following, of which he claimed to have been an eye and ear witness. Strauss had a daughter, whom he had, strangely, sent to a pietistic school, while he was separated from her mother. She was educated a pious girl, and subsequently married a physician. She was called home when her father was about to die, and was deeply affected. When he saw her weeping, he took her hand in his and said: "My daughter, your father has finished his course. You know his principles and views. He cannot comfort you with the assurance of seeing you again. What your father has done will live forever, but his personality will forever cease to be. He must bow to the unchangeable law of the universe, and to that law he reverently says: 'Thy will be done.'"

WILLIAM NAST.

DEAN PLUMPTRE'S DANTE.*

THE scholarly Dean of Wells is no stranger to the literary public. To this, his latest work, fairly belongs the praise which is due to conscientious diligence. That he has been a laborious and careful student of Dante is evident. He has traversed a large area of the voluminous Dante literature: he has apprehended the numerous and often difficult questions which beset his subject: he has discussed these with intelligence and knowledge: he has produced an elaborate and well-studied biography of his author, and a useful commentary for English readers upon the first two *cantiche* of the *Commedia*, which are all that the present volume includes. His notes are generally concise and pertinent, and his commentary is, on the whole, superior to that of Mr. Longfellow, whose notes consist altogether too largely of illustrative passages from other authors, and are too often wanting where the beginner in Dante needs a guide.

As regards the translation itself, however, even charitable criticism cannot prolong the strain of commendation. To the best of its predecessors it is painfully inferior. The laboriousness which imparts value to the commentary is a standing detriment to the translation, which will never tempt the student from even the easy elegance of Cary, much less from the happy literalness of Longfellow and Philalethes.

It is not difficult to detect the radical secret of his failure. It is his attempt to reproduce the *terza rima* of the original. This *terza rima* proves a relentless demon, which keeps him continuously and toilsomely on the stretch, and busy with all sorts of ingenious contrivances, compelling the most astonishing circuits and amplifications, and the highest dilutions (to speak homœopathically), all of which are as far as possible removed from the precision and concentration, the straight, heavy striking of Dante. In short, the Dean is effectually handicapped by the metrical problem which he

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* *The Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri.* A new translation, with Notes, Essays, and a Biographical Introduction: by E. H. Plumptre, D.D., Dean of Wells. Vol. I. 8vo. 388 pp. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

has set himself. The metre thrusts itself persistently into the foreground as the thing to which the entire translation must conform at all hazards. A line must be pieced out with a word or a phrase of which there is not the faintest suggestion in the original, in order to furnish a mortise for the end of a succeeding line, or a tenon for the preceding one. Hence the whole translation bristles with painfully labored and artificially contrived verses. Let us cite a few illustrations:

> " These wretched slaves who ne'er true life could boast,
> Were naked all, and in full evil case,
> By gnats and wasps were stung that filled that coast,
> And streams of blood down trickled on each face,
> And, mingled with their tears, beneath their feet,
> Were licked by worms that wriggled foul and base."
>
> *Inf.*, III., 64–69.

Now, the Dean's lines contain the following ideas which are purely his own: " slaves," " boast," " in full evil case," " coast," and " wriggled." Furthermore, *mosconi* is purposely selected by Dante to denote *large* flies, like horse-flies, which, therefore, are quite unlike " gnats." *Fastidiosi*, " disgusting," is rendered by two adjectives, " foul and base," neither of which represents Dante's idea, since *fastidiosi* conveys the impression made on the spectator rather than the character of the object itself; while Dante was too keen an observer of all animated things to represent worms as " licking." Why all this?

We do not know, of course, the order in which the three endings of the triplet were forged. The first one, whichever it may have been, necessarily determined the others. Starting then, let us say, with " boast," it followed that, in order to make a rhyme, Dante's simple " which were there " would not stretch far enough, and therefore " coast " had to be introduced, which is not Dante's. " Face " was, naturally, the only available rendering for *volto*, and, seeing this rock ahead, an entirely original sentence was thrust out as a fender, " in full evil case," which, in its turn, is responsible for " base." The " wriggling " of the " foul and base worms " is a possibly legitimate inference of the translator. It is Dantean, for Dante is minute and particular in touching the characteristics of whatever he describes. But that he did not note the wriggling in this case is the best possible evidence that the worms did not wriggle in his vision, and, therefore, that this vermicular movement is a gratuitous and superfluous addition of the Dean's.

At the lake of boiling pitch in the fifth *Bolgia*, where the peculators are tormented, Dante sees a black demon come running over the crag, bearing a sinner upon his shoulder, and describes him thus: "I saw behind us a black devil come running over the cliff. Ah, how fierce he was in aspect! How harsh in act he seemed to me, with his wings open, and light upon his feet!"—*Inf.*, XXI., 29–33. Now the Dean:

> "And then behind I saw a demon black,
> Come running on the crag full speedily.
> Ah me! How eager was he to attack!
> How bitter seemed he to me in his deed!
> With open wings and on his feet not slack."

The words "how eager was he to attack" are not in the text, and are not suggested by anything in the text; since the demon's object was not to "attack" anybody or anything, but simply to dump the unfortunate "ancient" of Santa Zita into the pitch, and to go back as quickly as possible for another transgressor. So that the only conceivable explanation seems to lie in the necessity of finding a rhyme for "black"; and having committed himself thus far, the Dean must needs convert Dante's simple "light upon his feet," into "on his feet *not slack*"; which, besides diluting, if not perverting the sense, makes a halting, heavy line where the Italian runs with the nimble fiend:

Con l'ale aperte, e sovra i piè leggiero.

These are fair specimens of scores throughout the work; and by these the reader is already prepared for a second point of criticism—the rhythm. The translation is not wanting in neat and easily flowing lines, but it abounds in lines of an utterly different kind, which Dante has described in advance in the opening of the thirty-second Inferno:

S' io avesse le rime ed aspre e chiocce,
* * * * *
Io premerei di mio concetto il suco
Più pienamente.

Aspre e chiocce, "rough and hoarse." Without further comment we cite a few specimen lines to which any reader may find numerous parallels by opening the book at random, and which we invite any student of English verse to "scan" with a quiet mind:

"So that good ground for bright hopes met me here." (*Inf.*, I., 41.)
"Souls borne where fierce winds, as I said, combine." (V., 49.)

"That rainstorm makes them all like fierce dogs howl." (VI., 19.)
"What he spake to them I could not hear *plain!*" (VIII., 112.)
"Upon a yellow purse I saw a*zure*." (XVII., 59.)

With which compare line 64:

"And one who bore an *a*zure sow *in brood!*"
"As in a boat that down stream course doth keep." (IV., 93.)
"Whereat the pilgrim fresh with strong love starts." (*Purg.*, VIII., 4.)

Let us turn now to the translation itself. Dante presents to the translator difficulties beyond any other poet. In no other poet can be found such perfect fusion of thought and speech. Intuitively he seizes the primitive relation between thought and expression, which appears in the blending of the two ideas of "reason" and "speech" in the Greek λόγος, and in the *ragionare* of his own tongue. Thought is never purely abstract. We think in words. Hence, consummate expression is more than a nice, judicial selection of words. It is rather the instinctive appropriation by the thought itself of its proper investiture—the body which God gave to every seed in the beginning. One does not feel that Dante has chosen the best word for his thought, so much as that his conception awoke full-clothed, and waiting only for him to lead it into the light. His vocabulary is primitive in its picturesqueness; for the primitive word is a picture. It is alike one of the charms and one of the solid benefits of the study of Dante that it brings back to us the earlier picture-character of words. What a word, for instance, is *tresca*—that irregular dance, with its quick turns of the person and its swinging of hands from side to side—to picture those wretches in the seventh circle, striking incessantly on either side to beat off and quench the great, falling flakes of fire. *La tresca delle miseri mani, or quindi or quinci*—that single line fixes the scene in memory forever.* Or, as we clamber with the two poets down the broken mass of dislodged rocks, that *ruina* which marks the descent to the seventh circle,† Dante's illustration of the landslip into the valley of the Adige gives no such picture as that single word *scarco*,‡ "unloading," "discharge," in which we see the vast mass of stones shot down the slope as if unloaded from a colossal wagon.

Dante's words and phrases, moreover, carry not only the essence but the adjuncts of his thought. If the idea is one of melody, the word renders the pitch and quality of the melody. If it be an idea of swiftness or slowness, the word or the line runs or drags. This is a

* *Inf.*, XIV., 40. † *Inf.*, XII., 4. ‡ *Inf.*, XII., 28.

lower grade of power, possible, some might think, to a merely imitative faculty, yet Homer and Virgil do not disdain to use it. It is heard in the δεινὴ κλαγγή of Apollo's bow, and in the "*quadrupedante*" of Virgil's galloping steeds. But it is a fair question, upon which we cannot enter here, whether the onomatopœia of Dante is not vastly more than the mere imitation of grosser impressions of sound: whether it does not take on a finer flavor than even in Homer, and vindicate for the Italian poet a far nicer perception and a closer analysis of sounds, besides a power of conveying into them a subtile quality which makes them interpreters of a region higher than that of sense.

It will not, therefore, be difficult to understand that Dante, beyond perhaps any other poet, suffers from what Mr. Lowell aptly terms "the disenchantment of a translation." No poet can so ill endure separation from his own words, or modification of the original mould of his thought. No poet requires such literal translation in order to preserve his flavor unimpaired. Every word tells. Dante is pre-ëminently a plain speaker. He writes to be understood. He is bent not only on discharging, but on lodging his thought. Even his occasional involutions and tedious elaborations do not grow out of obscurity or confusion in his own mind. It is rather that he sees the thing on many sides, and down to the bottom, and is bent on making his reader see it too. Any one will appreciate this who has waded through the chapters of the *Convito*, and has followed Dante's tiresome analysis of his own canzones. Such obscurities and involutions, however, are by no means dominant in the *Commedia*. No one can study it line by line without being impressed with its rigid economy of words—economy in the sense of sparing, no less than in the broader sense of skilful handling. Incoherency and ambiguity are characteristic of the pagan seer. The enigmas of Delphi and Dodona belong to a pre-Christian age. A greater than Dante set the example of plain-speaking inspiration, and Dante shows himself Christian not only in the character of his vision, but in the lucid telling of it.

These general characteristics of the poet, however imperfectly sketched, will at least suffice to vindicate our demand upon his English translator, not, indeed, for literalness, but for strict adherence to the mould of his thought, faithfulness to his imagery, pervasion with his spirit, and such reproduction of the traits of his style as is possible in the transfer to a language so different in structure, flexi-

bility, and harmonic quality. Our only concern is with the question how far Dean Plumptre has met these very reasonable demands. In the attempt to answer this question we must be content to select as examples a few passages which furnish fair tests of a translator's genius and skill.

Let us begin with the third Inferno:

Per me si va nella città dolente;
Per me si va nell' eterno dolore;
Per me si va tra la perduta gente.
* * * *
Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate!

Mr. Longfellow justly remarks upon the sound of these lines, through which, by the skilful use of liquids and the vowel *o*, a tolling as of a funeral bell is made to resound.

Now hear the Dean:

"Through me men pass to city of great woe;
Through me men pass to endless misery;
Through me men pass where all the lost ones go.
* * * *
Ye that pass in all hope abandon ye."

Assuredly there is no toll in these lines. For vowels and liquids the Dean substitutes sibilants and mutes; so that the general effect is rather that of a scythe in brushwood. We defy any one to hammer out two more shambling, stiff, artificial lines than the first and third of these. As for the last line, Longfellow's rendering is really the end of controversy.

"All hope abandon, ye who enter here,"

is as good and as truthful as it is possible to make it; and the Dean, who occasionally appropriates one of Longfellow's lines, would have done much better to adopt this one for his own.

But now comes a severer test. Among the most wonderful descriptive passages in the poem is the one beginning at the 22d line, and depicting the awful din which greeted the poet's ear as he entered the infernal gate. One fairly stops his ears as he reads:

Quivi sospiri, pianti ed alti guai
Risonavan per l'aer senza stelle,
Per ch' io al cominciar ne lagrimai.
Diverse lingue, orribili favelle,
Parole di dolore, accenti d'ira,
Voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle,
Facevano un tumulto, il qual s'aggira
Sempre in quell' aria senza tempo tinta,
Come la rena quando a turbo spira.

The pace of these lines quickens in contrast with the more dignified and perhaps hesitating movement of the preceding verses. There is no *crescendo.* The tumult bursts in one awful crash upon the ear. Every sound in which human agony finds vent is borne upward through the "air forever black," until the whole babel is gathered up and massed in three lines which whirl like the very whirlwind they describe.

The Dean has a serious piece of work cut out for him here, and this is the way he does it:

> "Then sighs and tears and groans disconsolate
> So sounded through the starless firmament,
> That at the outset I wept sore thereat.
> Speech many-tongued, and cries of dire lament,
> Words full of wrath and accents of despair,
> Deep voices hoarse and hands where woe found vent—
> These made a tumult whirling through the air,
> Forevermore, in timeless gloom the same,
> As whirls the sand storm-driven here and there."

The whole of this frightful confusion appeals to the ear; so that "tears" for *pianti* ("plaints") is out of the question. "Groans disconsolate" for *alti guai* is a palpable mistranslation. *Alti* is "shrill" (high-pitched), and *guai* are "wails, howls, or whines"; as Fraticelli observes, "literally, the cry of a whipped dog." "Starless firmament" for *aer senza stelle*, is more than doubtful. Philalethes has it: "*sternenlosen Luftkreis.*" A "firmament" has no place in this region; and, besides, Dante's idea is that of an enveloping atmosphere. "Cries of dire lament" is not the meaning of *orribili favelle*, and "hands where woe found vent" is not Dante at all. He says simply, "sound of hands with these," that is, with all the other sounds. Nothing "finds vent" here except the translator, who, however, has made a happy hit in

> "Forevermore, in timeless gloom the same."

Passing on to the sixth Inferno, we enter the "circle of the rain." In this dreary region Dante says:

> *Grandine grossa, ed acqua tinta, e neve*
> *Per l'aer tenebrosa si riversa.*

For the simple "snow" the Dean gives "whirling clouds of snow." Then he changes Dante's picture in the next line, which depicts a continuous *down-pour. Riversa* represents the pouring or spilling from an overturned vessel. Hail, rain, snow come "right

down"; whereas the Dean's picture in "whirling clouds of snow" and "come sweeping on," is that of snow and rain driven *forward* by the wind.

To attempt to refine upon Dante is to make him ridiculous. Coarse and grotesque in expression he doubtless is at times; but the indelicacy is not of that Swinburnian type which revels in rottenness, and for which he would have found an appropriate nook in one of his *Bolgias*. It is rather inherent in his subject. The dominant sentiment of the *Inferno* is that sin brutalizes. Through successive circles he leads us downward to lower developments of bestiality. His fiends have no affinity with the Miltonian Satan or with the Mephistopheles of Goethe. The polished, sarcastic, keen-witted, sneering, denying devil, and the "archangel ruined," retaining traces of his "original brightness," are alike absent from Dante's Hell. His Lucifer, at the apex of the infernal cone, is the supreme incarnation of demoniac animalism. Accordingly, he pictures his devils with all the accompaniments of brutal depravity in word and act and mien. Dante is a plain speaker on whatever subject he is dealing with. He refuses to circumvent or to gild with circumlocution or euphemism. For a translator to attempt to mitigate the plain directness of such passages is to make them doubly offensive. The Dean's modesty, like that of any other Christian gentleman, might be expected to recoil from the utterly unquotable line which concludes the twenty-first Inferno; but if anything could make its truthful grossness more conspicuous, it is his attempt to soften it down, which invests the whole thing with a sort of serio-comic, martial pomposity, like a village band-master on a Fourth of July.*

In the fourteenth Inferno occurs that grand description of the falling flakes of fire to which we have already referred. Where can anything be found equal to the silent, majestic, unintermitted descent, pictured in

Tale scendeva l'eternale ardore,

and the contrast in the quick, broken touches which describe the instant kindling of the sand, catching fire like tinder under steel?

Onde l' arena s'accendea com' esca
Sotto focile.

Now see how the Dean mutilates this striking picture by converting these great, detached, slowly falling flakes into "spray":

* See similar instances, *Inf.*, XXVIII., 24, and XXI., 101.

"And over all the sand a falling spray
Showered rain of flakes of ever-spreading flame,
Like snow upon the Alps in windless day."

"Ever-spreading" is evidently meant for *dilatate*, which is another blunder; for any one who has ever watched the descent of large snowflakes on a quiet day, will have observed how the absence of wind allows each flake to spread itself out to its full dimensions; whereas, a high wind cuts them up into small bits. To such the felicitousness of *dilatate*, "dilated, spread out," will be at once apparent. Dante says, "dilated flakes of fire rained over all the sand, as of snow in the Alps without a wind." "Flakes of ever-spreading flame" gives a quite different picture.

If space allowed, it would be interesting to review in detail the Dean's handling of the peculators in the lake of boiling pitch (*Inf.*, XXI., XXII.), but we must confine ourselves to one or two specimens.

In line 97, Dante turns to Vergil, in his terror at the threatening demonstrations of the demons:

Io m' accostai con tutta la persona
Lungo 'l mio Duca.

There is a characteristic touch in *m' accostai lungo*. *Accostare*, from *costa*, a "rib" or "side," is "to draw to the side of." *Accostare lungo*, is "to draw alongside"; and Dante says that, in his fright, he *sidled* up to Vergil: but the Dean—

"I to the spot then turned myself full round
Where stood my guide."

In line 116, the demon Malacoda declares that he will send some of his party,

a riguardar s'alcun se ne sciorina.

Sciorinare is used of airing linen or of opening out folds to the sun. It is a peculiar word here, which at once attracts attention; and its felicitousness is apparent as applied to the boiled wretches emerging from beneath the pitch in order to get a breath of air and to cool themselves. Thus Philalethes, "*sich lüfte*"; but the lively picturesqueness which that one word gives to the whole line is entirely lost in the Dean's version:

"To see if any doth himself *upraise*."

Having detained the reader so long in the infernal realm, it is

only fair that we should give him a taste of a more inviting region; and we will therefore follow the Dean a little way into Purgatory. We shall confine our remarks to two notable passages. The first is the fine episode of Buonconte da Montefeltro, in the fifth canto.

Buonconte says: "I came to where the Archiano mingled with the Arno, pierced (or wounded) in the throat." The Dean's

"My throat with *many a wound* pierced through"

is questionable, to say the least. Dante's word does not imply a number of wounds. He merely says *forato nella gola;* and a matter-of-fact inquirer might be tempted to ask how, with his throat pierced *through* with *many* wounds, poor Buonconte was able to come as far as he did. At this point he fell and died:

Caddi, e rimase la mia carne sola,

or, according to the Dean,

"And my corpse lifeless lay exposed to view."

Now Dante, with his usual matter-of-fact precision, says: "I fell, and my body remained alone"; that is to say, without the soul. The stern brevity of those five words is awful. The spirit is away. The body lies there *alone.* On that *sola,* purposely closing the line, the thought comes down and rests for an instant, as if to collect itself for the contemplation of the horror to come. All this is utterly sacrificed by the rendering:

"And my corpse lifeless lay exposed to view."

Dante's line contains absolutely no hint of being "exposed to view," and the only effect of this "newspaperish" phrase is to spoil his picture, and to divert the reader from his thought.

Lines 106–108, as they justly rank among the gems of the *Commedia,* are worth citing in the Dean's version as specimens of one of his better moments:

"Thou bear'st the part that ever shall abide
For one poor tear that cheats me of my prize."

This is admirable: but, alas, he relapses in the next line. The evil angel, eager to secure possession of the departed soul, complains that God's angel, for the sake of one tear of penitence, has snatched it from perdition; but declares that the body is still in his power, and shall be dealt with after another fashion:

Ma io faro dell' altro altro governo.

This the Dean renders:

"The rest shall by another doom be tried;"

on which we may remark, first, that *governo* does not mean "doom," but "governance," "conduct," "care." Literally the line is, "I will make other governance of the other (part)." Secondly, that "trying by doom" is a totally unjustifiable proceeding in poetry, as in court.

But now comes the gathering of the great rain-storm by the art of the evil power of the air. The channels of the rivulets overflowed and united into great streams, which *rushed headlong* (*si ruinò*) toward the royal river. This *si ruinò* is diluted into "on they passed." Then the swollen river bears down the corpse, loosening from the breast the hands which, at the moment of death, had crossed themselves upon it:

"and set loose the cross which fast
I o'er my breast made when I bowed to pain."

"Fast," which is extorted by that remorseless metre which does not relax its grip even in Purgatory, imperils the entire meaning of the line. "The cross which I made fast over my breast," might easily mean, to a reader familiar only with the English version, that Buonconte had tied a cross of wood or metal upon his bosom ere he died. The Dean appears to overlook the *di me*—the cross which I made *of me*, which is equivalent to the common phrase "to cross one's self," and which defines Dante's image beyond the possibility of mistake.

Our second illustration is the passage at the opening of the eighth Purgatory, which Byron has introduced into bad company by transferring it bodily to *Don Juan*. Probably few readers of Byron are aware that those exquisite lines

"Soft hour! which wakes the wish and melts the heart
Of those who sail the seas," etc.,

are appropriated bodily from Dante. "Who shall say by what strange alchemy of art those six lines have absorbed the very soul and substance of the melancholy sunset hour?"* The subtile tenderness of their sentiment is interpreted by the delicious melody of the verse. This is one of the passages which illustrate what we have already said concerning the higher, supersensual power which sometimes reveals itself in Dante's adaptation of sound to sense. Re-

*J. A. Symonds. *Introduction to the Study of Dante.*

garded merely as an appeal to the ear, it is framed with consummate art. The music of the bell runs through it. In the sound of a richly-toned bell a quick ear may detect the following elements: There is the ring, expressed in the familiar "ding dong," and which Dante gives in the *tin tin* of *Paradiso*, X., 143; there is the full, rounded vowel-note, and, along with this, a flatter vowel sound. All this we have in these lines: the liquid ring in *squilla*, *lontano*, and especially *pianger;* the full, open vowel-tone in *ode*, *giorno*, and *muore*, in which also the liquid and vowel notes blend; and the flatter tone in *paia*. Thus much for the merely mechanical structure of the lines. The subtiler element of which this structure is the instrument eludes analysis. How far the following version succeeds in reproducing these factors we leave the reader to judge:

> "The hour was come which brings back yearning new
> To those far out at sea, and melts their hearts
> The day that they have bid sweet friends adieu;
> Whereat the pilgrim fresh with strong love starts,
> If he perchance hear bells, far off yet clear,
> Which seem to mourn the day's life that departs."

It may be safely averred that these lines would lead no one to suspect the flowing melody of the original, especially the fourth. As to their substance, the Dean seems to us to have fallen into error by making one image where Dante makes two. In other words, he identifies the traveller by sea with the pilgrim; for he says in his note, "The poet had known what it was to hear the Ave Maria bell as the evening closed, and as the ship in which he sailed was moving farther and farther from the shore." But, if we correctly read Dante's lines, the feeling ascribed to those at sea is confined to the turning back of desire and the melting of the heart; while the effect of the evening bell belongs only to the pilgrim. This is clear from the *e che* at the beginning of the fourth line, which introduces a new image, and refers unquestionably to *ora*. It was the hour which turns back desire and melts the heart of those at sea on the day when they have said farewell to dear friends, and (it was the hour) which penetrates the pilgrim with love if he hear the sound of the evening bell. The "*far* out at sea," which the Dean appears to take as a kind of key-note, is not Dante's. He says merely *ai naviganti*, "to those who sail"; and it might not be amiss to remark that those *far* out at sea, taking the phrase as it is commonly understood, would not be likely to hear the sound of the evening bell on shore;

and further, that, having sailed that very day, they would not, unless under exceptionally favorable circumstances, be very far out at sea by evening. The "fresh pilgrim" and the "starting with strong love," we may leave to speak for themselves. Whatever we may think of the melody of the line,

> "Whereat the pilgrim fresh with strong love starts,"

it certainly is not Dante. The last four words are a labored and futile attempt to render *punge d'amore*, a phrase which does not lend itself readily to translation, and which is easily made ridiculous by any approach to a literal rendering.

Here we close our task. No one who shall carefully examine this translation will charge that we have selected passages with a view to adverse criticism, leaving untouched others which might convey a better impression. We have already admitted that the work contains occasional felicities of rendering and well-constructed lines; but the passages which we have chosen for comment are, by their power and beauty, adapted to furnish decisive tests of the translator's ability, and their translations are, therefore, fairly representative. Moreover, we could easily cite many others marked by the same grave blemishes and radical defects. These faults are characteristic of the translation as a whole; and, with all our respect for the author's high position and scholarly attainment, our deliberate verdict must be that he has proved himself unable to keep pace with the Florentine giant. We cannot anticipate the promised *Paradiso* with any pleasure.

MARVIN R. VINCENT.

THE DRAMA OF AN EVENING.

It was carnival time of the year in New Orleans. The annual machinery of gayety had been set in motion; heavy, cumbersome, antiquated machinery, with etiquette, ceremony, precautions, and safeguards innumerable for the inflammable hearts transplanted from a tropical court to a tropical clime. It was the meeting-time of the year for the young people, the season for opportunity; and in the wise little self-sufficient creole world there was no opportunity like that offered by a *soirée*. From time immemorial a *soirée* had been the official gate of entrance into the great world of society, and this year Madame Fleurissant was to open the season—Madame Edmond Fleurissant, for the last name had been so stretched it embraced not individuals, but classes. The *soirée* was given to her granddaughter, Stephanie Morel, who was to make her "début" into the great world out of the little world of school. Stephanie had not graduated; indeed, she was only in the second class; but nature would not wait for the diploma of St. Denis. Nature is that way in New Orleans—so impatient. A young girl must be very industrious there to get an education before her "début."

From the time the invitations were sent out there had been nothing else talked about by the débutantes. The giddy little heads, still full of Mass, and still wet with the touch of holy water, would loiter on their way from the cathedral, by the seductive shops, or come together outside the artificial-flower windows (rivalling the show within) to consult on the proper *parure* for the occasion. Field flowers, lilies of the valley, daisies, myosotis, and rosebuds, "rose tendre," the sweetest of all flowers for a débutante, they bloomed, a miraculous spring, in the confined laboratiums, and but for the glass would have poured out over the damp stone *banquet*. The day of the intellect was felt to be over. It was the body which had to be furnished now. It was not only a question of artificial flowers, tulles and tarlatans, gloves and slippers, but of pointed or round bodices, clinging or spread skirts. With Paris so far away and American fashions so encroaching and so prosaic, what problem had their arithmetic ever furnished to compare with it?

The interest, which had been diffused to the extreme limits of

the square of the city, as the original French settlement is called, began in reflex to return as the twenty-seventh of December approached, until with the day itself it concentrated on the old, gray, stucco building, a by no means insignificant theatre of social festivities in that celebrated time long past, to which even a reference now is monotonous. As night fell, it arose through the darkness glittering with light, and opened its portals for the reception of guests; the great, wide *porte-cochère* in front, and the little back gate on the street in the rear. This gate had been thoughtfully propped open, that the mistress might not be disturbed by its continual opening and shutting by the procession of the expected, if uninvited. Having come within the radius of the news that Madame Edmond was going to give a *soirée*, they, naturally considering their former intimate relations with the family, came to the *soirée* itself. Those who had ante-emancipation costumes of flowered mousseline-de-laine gowns, black-silk aprons, and real bandanna head-kerchiefs, put them on for volunteer service in the dressing-room. Those who had shawls put them on to hide toilet deficiencies, and, also, a prudently provided basket. Those victims of constitutional improvidence who had neither baskets nor shawls came in untempered shiftlessness to gloat their eyes and glut their bodies on whatever chance might throw in their way. All entered alike boldly and assuredly, in the consciousness of their unabrogated funeral and festal privileges, inspected, with their heaven-given leisurely manner, the provisions for refreshment, commented on the adornments, reconnoitred the rooms, and finally selected advantageous positions for observation behind the shutters of the ladies' dressing-rooms, or posted themselves in obscure corners of the hall. What sights to take home to their crowded shanties! And the sounds! Where could so many voices, so many emotions, be assembled as in a ladies' dressing-room before a *soirée;* a début *soirée?*

"Have I too much powder?"

"Is my hair right so?"

"Does my dress show my feet too much?"

"Perhaps my comb would be better this way?"

"Shall I put a *mouche* just here?"

It is so important to look well on a début night. Everything depends upon that. Why, a wrinkle in a bodice, a flaw in a glove, a curl this way or that, is enough to settle a destiny. No wonder they were nervous and excited. Self-confidence vanished as it had never

done before, even in an *Histoire de France* contest at school. And in matters of toilet there is no such thing as luck. There seemed to be an idea that Fate could be propitiated by self-abnegation. The looking glass extorted the most humble confessions:

"I am a fright!"

"As for me, I am perfectly hideous!"

"I told *maman* how it would be!"

"Now it's no use!"

"It is that Madame Treize! ah, what a demon!"

"I can hardly stand in my slippers, they are so tight."

"And mine are so loose—perfect ships."

"Ah, that Renaudiere! the rascal!" came in chorus from all, for they all knew the shoemaker well.

"Just see what wretched gloves!"

"Look at my bodice! My dear, it was laced three times over; the last time more crooked than the first."

In fact, there was not an article of dress, glove, shoe, or *parure* that answered expectations; not a *modiste* or *fabricant* of any kind that had not betrayed trust. And so restricted as they were to expression! hardly daring to breathe under their laces or lift an eyebrow under their hairpins. Each one yielded unreservedly to her own panic, but strove to infuse courage into the others.

"*Chère*, you look lovely!" Imprinting prudent little kisses in undamageable spots.

"You are so good, you only say that to console me."

"But I assure you, Doucette!"

"Ah, if I only looked as well as you!"

"What an exquisite toilet!"

"No, *chèrie!* You can't conceal it, it is unbecoming!"

"But on my word of honor!"

"My dear, it is not to flatter, but you look like an angel!"

"No, it is all over with me, I told *maman!* I did not wish to come."

"My hair is getting limp already."

The weather was really turning warm and moist, as if purposely to relax their curls.

The music commenced down-stairs:

"Ah, that's Benoit!"

And they fell into still greater trepidation over this exhibition of expenditure on their behalf.

"There's going to be a crowd!"

"*Ah, mon Dieu!*" came from a despairing heart.

"Marcélite, my good Marcélite, put a pin here!"

"Marcélite, for the love of heaven, tie this bow!"

"Marcélite, this string is broken!"

"See that big, fat quadroon! That is Marcélite Gaulois, the *coiffeuse*. She is the hair-dresser for all the *haut ton*," whispered one of the knowing ones in the crowd outside the window.

"That must be her Mam'zelle, *hein?* the tall one with the black hair."

"Marcélite, I am so afraid," whispered Marie Modeste all the time.

"Zozo, you are the prettiest of all," or "Zozo, your dress is the prettiest of all," was the invariable refrain.

"Must we go down now?"

"*Bonne chance, chère!*"

"Pray for me, *hein*, Marcélite?"

"And don't forget me, Marcélite!"

"Here, this is for good luck!" And with signs of the cross and exhortation they went down-stairs into, not the parlors, that was not what frightened them, but the future, the illimitable future, that for which all their previous life had been a preface. One step more, it would be the present, and their childhood would be over.

From the time her carriage left her door, Madame Montyon had talked incessantly to her son, who was carefully seated in an opposite corner. What she intended to do, what she intended to say, what her listeners intended to do and say, nay, what they intended to think! Always speaking and thinking consonant to her disposition, she evidently intended to carry her business to the ball, and had laid out her plans in consequence of some recent interview with her agent.

"I told Goupilleau: 'Goupilleau, nonsense! You don't know who you are talking to! Can't get money out of this people! bah! Giving balls, going to balls, and not pay house-rent, not pay office-rent, not even pay interest on their debts! debts reduced to ten cents on the dollar! But what are you singing to me, *mon ami?*' 'But Madame must not judge by the present.' 'And why not? Why not judge by the present?' 'The crises, the revolution, the reconstruction——' 'La, la, la, you are sympathetic. Goupilleau, let me tell you, you are no longer a notary, you are no longer an agent. You are a philanthropist, a poetic philanthropist.

Go coo with the doves, but don't talk business like that!' And Goupilleau knew I was right. I can read thought! One isn't a Duperre for nothing."

This was a well-known allusion to the fact that her father, General Duperre, a child of the Revolution in default of more illustrious ancestry, had distinguished himself once in a certain provincial trouble in France by his boundless sagacity and impregnable firmness.

The young man made a movement, but only with his foot.

"Take care! My dress! You will crush it! Black-velvet dresses cost money, and money is not picked up under the foot of every galloping horse!" whatever she meant by this favorite expression. "No, my son." She pronounced these words with a slight insistence on the "my," an assumption of motherhood that betrayed the pretender. "One must give a hand to one's own affairs. The eye of the master is very good when one employs lawyers, too.

"'Goupilleau,' I said, 'what of those stores on Chartres Street?'

"'Taxes, Madame.'

"'And the houses on Damaine Street?'

"'Repairs, Madame.'

"'The Sainte Helena plantation?'

"'The freeze last year, Madame.'

"'The old Dubois—the old rascal!—plantation?'

"'Overflow, Madame.'

"'The brick-kiln over the river?'

"'Bad season, Madame.'

"'Goupilleau, you wrote me that that miserable wretch, that abominable hypocrite, old Gréaud, is broken-hearted, wants to commit suicide, bankrupt, and I don't know what all; and yet his daughter gets married and orders her trousseau from Paris (Oh! don't take the trouble to deny it; I know it, I got it from my own dressmaker); and has such a wedding as the world has never seen!' 'Ah, Madame!' shrugging his shoulders"—she shrugging hers too; she had been imitating his voice and manner all along in the dark—"'it came from his wife, the mother of the young lady.' 'But, just heavens! Goupilleau,' I said, 'do you mean to tell me that what little God and the Government leave to me of my debts is to be hidden under the women's petticoats?' Well! I shall see for myself this evening. I am very glad the Grandmère Fleurissant gives this ball. Ah! I shall let them know!"

"I hope," said the young man, in a voice that expressed a very faint hope indeed, "you will be discreet; the creoles——"

"Bah! the creoles," contemptuously; "don't you think I know the creoles? They *are* creoles, remember, not Parisians."

It was hardly possible for him to forget a fact of which he had been reminded at almost every stroke of the clock since their departure from France.

"You forget that I, too, am a creole."

"Charles"—the voice came back suddenly, cold with offended dignity—"you forget yourself; you must not speak so, I do not like it; in fact, you know it displeases me extremely;" and silence lasted now until the carriage stopped before the house, where, really, a policeman was very much needed, to keep not only the forward bodies of the children, but also their impudent tongues, in order. She had been going on to tell him much more; about the "Succession d'Arvil," which, after all, had been the important reason of her coming to America. How the half-million she hoped from it was still buried in a mass of old paper; a regular rag-picker collection. "That Goupilleau, oh, Goupilleau! he is not the man he was; marriage has quenched him. He was still looking, looking, looking"—screwing up her eyes and handling bits of paper in her gloved hands—"examining, comparing, as if in fact he held a contract from heaven to supply him with all the time he needed. Not one-half of the papers gone through! and fully a month since he died, old Arvil! It ought to be at least a half-million!" She had suffered that amount of shame from him during his life-time; it was worth half a million to appear as his niece.

"But Goupilleau is so slow! I shall give him a talk to-morrow! I shall say 'so and so,' and he will say 'so and so.'"

Her irascibility once excited, eloquence flowed without bounds; her verbal castigation of the notary was satisfactory and complete, and the succession of her uncle hastened to a conclusion—her own conclusion; a half-million. It would be a neat addition to Charles's heritage. "Charles!" her robust, strong nature melted over the name. Late in life her fortune had bought her the temporary possession of a husband but the permanent ownership of a child. A beautiful little child, that had unlocked the passion of maternity in her. She was of the kind who are born to be mothers, not wives, who can do better without a husband than without children. As her old Uncle Arvil had hoarded money, so she hoarded this affection. As he had descended to base usages to obtain his desire, so had she descended to unworthy measures for the monopoly of this one heart. The little boy had

responded well to her efforts, had given her much, had forgotten much. But he had not given her all, and he had not forgotten the one whom to eradicate from his memory she would have bartered all her possessions, much as she loved them—his own mother.

"*I* am your *maman*, Charles."

"You are my *maman*, but not my own *maman*." The childish verbal distinction became the menace of her life, the sentiment of his. And the dead mother, as dead mothers do, became a religion, while the living one remained a devotion.

She walked like a Duperre through the volleys of commentaries on the sidewalk. "*Maman*," said the young man in a low voice, as they mounted the steps, "be discreet, I implore you."

"Bah!" was the answer, and then he began to regret that he had not sought an excuse to stay away. He was as sensitive as she was obtuse, and there seemed to be no escape from impending ridicule. He placed himself out of the way of the dancers, against the wall; condemned by his forebodings to be an observer of, rather than a participant in, the pleasures of the evening.

The antique gilt chandeliers festooned with crystal drops, lighted up the faded, as they had once lighted up the fresh, glories of the spacious rooms. Gilt candelabra with fresh pink-paper *bobèches* branched out everywhere to assist in the illumination; from the door, the windows, the arches, and under the colossal mirrors, which were sized to reflect giants. Old magnificences, luxuries, and extravagances hovered about the furniture, or seemed to creep in, like the old slaves at the back gate, to lend themselves for the occasion; even in a dilapidated, enfranchised condition, good, if for nothing else, to propitiate present criticism with suggestive extenuations from the past. As the parlors with their furniture, so were many of the chaperons with their toilets. There were no reproaches of antiquity to be passed between them. But the good material had remained intact with both, and the fine manners which antedated both furniture and clothes, and to an observer obliterated them, establishing a charming and refreshing supremacy of principals over accessories.

"They say she is ninety."

"Ninety!" exclaimed Tante Pauline. "Ninety-two, if you believe me; I know well!"

"How can she be so malicious!" thought the young married woman standing by her side, adjusting her eye-glasses for another look about the room.

It was well she did, for she was so near-sighted she would never have seen the candle-grease dripping down over a *bobèche* upon a young man's coat.

She made a motion to speak, then hesitated, then, with some mental admonition to courage:

"Monsieur, you are standing under the drip of a candle."

"*Ma foi!*" she thought, "he is *distingué*, good-looking, and young. Why doesn't he dance? If I knew his name I could introduce him. In fact, if I knew him I could talk to him myself."

"Ah! I can tell you, my *maman* went to school with her youngest daughter, and then she was a woman; a woman of a very certain age in society."

The tall, angular woman, Tante Pauline, talked all the time, shrugging her shoulders under her thin *glacé*-silk waist, tapping her sandal-wood fan, and gesticulating with her bony hands, in their loose black silk mittens.

"Ninety! Who would think it?"

"It is a miracle!"

"And so charming, so *spirituelle*."

Every one naturally said the same thing, coming away from the venerable hostess. Tante Pauline, who was aunt only by courtesy to every one in the room, had constituted herself as a kind of break-water to turn the tide of compliment into truth. She was in an admirable position, near the door.

"A beautiful ball! Really like old times."

"Eh, Odile!" Tante Pauline spread her fan (rusting spangles on a ground of faded red silk) to shield what she was going to say to her companion.

"She ought to know how to give balls! She has given enough of them. That is the way she married off six daughters."

"Six, Tante Pauline?"

"Of course, and evaded paying the *dot* with every single one of them;" emphasizing each syllable. "What do you think of that, *hein?* Oh, she has a head for business. She has plenty of money to give balls."

"Who can he be, Tante Pauline?" asked Odile, looking towards the young man whose coat she had rescued.

"Eh!" The sharp eyes screwed under their brows. "But what specimen is that? I can't place him. *Ma chère*, how foolish, but don't you see who he is looking at? But look over there! there!"

and she pointed with a long knotted finger. "Black velvet, diamonds, marabout feathers. Ah, what a masquerade! a whole *Mardi-gras*. But, Odile, how stupid of you. Madame Montyon *enfin*, that is her son—her step-son, I should say."

"Ah!" said Odile, with a vivid show of interest; "just from France!"

"Of course, my dear. Have you not heard? but where have you been all this week? Come out on business, to buy out, or sell out, heaven knows what! all of us poor creoles who owe her a picayune. And, then, there is the Arvil succession, too. Who knows what a hole that will make in our poor city? Poor old New Orleans! But just look at her, my dear; did you ever see such airs? Ah, well! I don't wonder Laflor Montyon died. I remember him well, as if he were of yesterday. I must confess it served him right; he married her for money," she laughed maliciously, "but he only got her; the money was kept well out of his embraces; and very wisely, for Laflor was a fool about money. Poor Mélanie! She would turn in her grave to know who had had the raising of her baby. And what does he look like after all?" with a disparaging glance at the young man—"a Parisianized creole; an Americanized creole is bad enough, but a Parisianized—good day! That old paper-shaving Arvil! buying, buying, buying; always secretly; and hiding, hiding it all away in his rat-hole, a perfect miserable caboose, under the mattress. No wonder he lived so long. Death hated to go there for him! And the clothes he wore! We will not even allude to them. Well, he did die and was buried, and then, '*grand coup de théâtre*,' Madame turns out to be his niece and heiress. The rich, the elegant, the aristocratic Madame Montyon, with her chateau in France, the niece of old 'rag-picker' Arvil, as we used to call him. Ha! ha! ha! Ah, the poor creoles! But surely, Odile, you have heard all this?"

"I don't say no, Tante Pauline." She spoke with indifference; she was in truth a little disconsolate. Her husband had brought her into the room and planted her there; she had not seen him since. As for beaux, they had bidden her farewell the night of her marriage, as the beaux of discreet brides always do. But her discretion did not preserve her from *ennui* now.

"Excuse me, Madame, but it is broken!" and she warned for the fourth or fifth time some fatigued dowager off an incapacitated chair, which stood in a conspicuous place by warrant of its great age and beauty; an ornamental *guet-apens*.

"Ninety—— *Bonté divine!*"

"Odile," Tante Pauline interrupted her asseveration, "just look at Goupilleau and his wife—Goupilleau! Heavens, what a name! Poor old Lareveillère! he was an aristocrat at least. They say—ah, I don't know," and her shoulders began to rise again with serpentine motions from her far-distant waist. "They say he has adopted that young girl; well, it isn't my affair, but what can you expect since the war?"

"Well, well, my dear, are you amusing yourself?" Odile's husband came through the door at her back. He always carefully spoke English in public, being what Tante Pauline called "an Americanized creole"; she, as carefully, spoke French.

"As you see," shrugging her frail shoulders out of her low-necked waist.

"Ah, one soon gets past all this." He spoke like an old, old, married man; this was another of his affectations. She turned her head and gave a quick side-glance at him. It was not so very long ago since she, too, was dancing out on the floor there, a young girl, he, a young man; dancing, with the honey-moon in their distant horizon. They had reached and passed it. She wore her wedding-gown this evening, fresh still, with only the seams taken up. He was stouter, bluffer, wore his coat carelessly, left a button out of his vest.

"Benoit is playing well this evening." He nodded toward the piano, behind which the dark bold head of the colored pianist could be seen in passionate movement.

"Ah, he ought to play well, he asks enough; but really, his prices are enormous. And I am not the only one who is wondering how the Fleurissants can afford it; when you think of poor Caro Fleurissant embroidering for a few miserable picayunes. But then they say Benoit gives half to his old mistress. In fact, she would starve without it. Well, some women are fortunate to have people work for them! Eh, Henri?"

But Henri Maziel had left; indeed, he had not waited beyond the last word of his own remark.

"I do not think we can compliment Henri Maziel on his manners," whispered Tante Pauline, under the perfumed shelter of her fan to her left-hand neighbor. "Poor Odile! but she would marry him; she was warned enough! I heard she threatened to kill herself or go in a convent. The threats of a girl of seventeen—bah! And that is what is called having a husband!"

The young girls danced as only young girls can dance to Benoit's music; with no past behind them to weigh down their light feet, and no future before them but of their own manufacture. Danced round and round in the circle bounded by the rows of darkly clad chaperons, as if they did not see them, their anxious, calculating faces, their sombre-hued bodies, or their sombre-hued lives; danced in the frank, joyous exuberance of youth on its first entrance into the "great world." Their tulle and tarlatan skirts spread wider and wider in the breeze from their own motions, until they stood like full-blown roses, showing the little high-heeled slippers underneath playing as lightly on the floor as Benoit's fingers on the piano. Bunches and crowns of artificial flowers were pinned on their quick-moving, restless heads. Their fresh, young, bending, curving bodies swelled under the tightly laced satin bodices. Eighteen, seventeen, sixteen, they were not out a moment too soon. Over their books, over their dolls even, their majority had come to them; their fragile dower of beauty, the ancestral heritage of the women, held in mort-main from generation to generation. Type came out strongly under excitement. In their languid, dormant creole lives it had held feature and character tenaciously; to southern, to northern France, to Spain, to Italy, with faint tinges from Semitic or Anglo-Saxon influences. They were varied, unconventional, changing, with nothing regular, nothing perfect, nothing monotonous, presenting constant surprising, piquant variations on the usual coloring and features; with exotic exaggerations and freaks in both; little audacities of toilet, risks in *coiffure*, originality in bows. They walked, spoke, were graceful, fascinating, and charming, by inspiration or tradition, as the grammatical but ill-spelling court of Louis XIV. talked.

Their timidity had left them, self-confidence had returned. Naïvely proud of their new *trousseaux*, of looks and clothes, they dispensed their favors with prodigal generosity, unconscious of their own wastefulness, experimenting with looks and smiles and winsome address; using their dangerous woman-eyes with childish hardihood, charging their transparent little phrases with expressions of which life had not yet taught them the significance.

They were, without doubt, now delighted with themselves. They could not keep from looking up at the mirrors, as they passed in promenade, twirling with Cuban agility their scintillating plumed fans. And the old mirrors, at times, could hardly contain between

their gilded frames, the upturned, flower-crowned, questioning faces. They did not indorse each other now, or ask indorsement, they had already journeyed too far in their feminine tactics.

The breath-laden air, mounting warmer and warmer, seemed to brighten the Cupids and the flowers painted on the ceiling. The white lint from the drugget floated around like pollen in autumn, in search of flower-hearts to fructify. One could not look across the room without traversing the dazzling electricity shooting from eye to eye.

"Ah, they are very happy, Madame Edmond!" said her old beau, with a sigh.

"Or they think they are, which is sufficient," answered the old lady.

"Oh, no, they do not think. The more one thinks the less one laughs. Hear them laugh!"

Out in the hall was the punch-bowl, and out in the hall were the fathers and uncles, and all the old, old gentlemen who are neither fathers nor uncles, but who come to balls simply because they cannot stay away. They complimented one another's families, talked Alphonse Karr and Lamartine, repeated sharp truths from Thiers or blunt ones from Guizot between their sips of punch, and in the neutral garb of their dress-coats discussed moderately, republicans, royalists, and imperialists, the politics of France. They made periodical excursions into the parlors, where their old hearts, grown torpid in the monotonous decorum of married life, warming at the sight of so much beauty and the taste of punch, grew lusty, and prompted them to fall in love again — with one another's granddaughters.

"Apropos of *coiffures*, that anecdote Alphonse Karr relates, ha! ha! ha!"

"It was Monsieur de Pontalba."

"No, it was Madame de Pontalba."

"The hair-dresser of Madame Récamier, ha! ha! ha!"

"Briant was there at the time, Auguste Briant, and he told me——"

"The hair-dresser looked around and saw, imagine? ha! ha!"

"Madame de Pontalba said, 'Monsieur!'"

"And that was the *coiffure* she wore, ha! ha! ha! ha!"

"Goupilleau! Goupilleau!" Madame Montyon walked up like a brigadier and ordered the notary out like a soldier from the ranks. One could almost imagine a brigadier uniform under the new black-

velvet gown, sword, epaulettes, spurs, and all; and the marabout feathers in her hair waved over a face that would have suited a *képi*.

"Goupilleau, I cannot believe it, that Madame Flotte maintains——"

"To-morrow morning, my dear lady, in my office, I shall be entirely at your service."

"No, no! Now. Come to her; tell her yourself!"

"In my office, to-morrow——"

"No! now." And they walked away together, she victorious, as usual.

"Ha! ha! ha! ha! Ho! ho! ho! ho!"

"Hear that old '*Jean qui rit*' still laughing over his Madame Récamier story."

"Ho! ho! ho! ho!" The old gentleman's extended mouth cut a semicircle in his soft, round, beardless face. "Ho! ho! ho! ho! That Providence! What a *farceur*, my friends! For a *jeu d'esprit* there is no one like him. '*Au sans-culotte, naît une culottée*' (to the breechless father is born a breeched daughter), ha! ha! ha!"

When the arrivals entirely ceased, the lookers-on up-stairs had to advance their positions, to be at all repaid for the trouble of peeping. The hair-dressers and maids, in virtue of their superior appearance, had the privilege of the steps all the way down to the floor beneath. They sat, their bright bandanna heads looking like huge posies, exchanging their bold, frank, and characteristically shrewd comments on their whilom masters and mistresses, giving free vent to their versions and theories, but aggressive toward each other in their loyal partisanship and their obstinate servility to family and name. It was a pleasure to look up and see them, to catch a furtive greeting or a demonstration of admiration. Their unselfish delight in the enjoyment of others gave a consecration to it.

"I warrant you Madame Morel has courage; a little baby at home and introducing a young lady in society."

"Look at Madame Edmond's old beau, Monsieur Brouy. He looks like a Papa Noël."

"*Hé!* that *grand seigneur* Benoit drinking off his champagne!"

"Brought him on a silver waiter!"

"*C'est ça des manières!*" (Equivalent to "What style!")

"Benoit has luck!"

"No, Benoit has what they call genius!"

"He is not the worst-dressed person in the room, either!"

"Why not? He was educated in Paris! He should dress and play well, too!"

"It is his old Madame who is proud now, *hein?*"

"Look, my children, look! Madame Montyon!"

"Well! she has not grown younger nor prettier."

"Poor Monsieur Laflor! No wonder he shot himself!"

"Shot himself? He took poison."

"But my old master was there."

"So was mine—in Paris."

"But he did not 'suicide' at all! He died of apoplexy. I was there myself. I went to the funeral," protested a third.

"Of course they said that to deceive the priest, but he 'suicided' all the same."

"*Ah ça!* But you musn't abuse politeness! You can't come on the stairs! Look over as much as you please, but not to be seen, *hein?*" One of the women of the house spoke sharply to the crowd above.

"It's not me! It's not me!" came a score of whispers, "it's Nourrice!"

"Nourrice! For the love of ——"

"Eh, poor devil! But let her come, Olympia," came in antistrophe from the crowd on the steps. "She'll soon go away; she never stays long."

"Here, Nourrice! here!"

"By me, Nourrice!"

"Here's a nice place for you, Nourrice!"

The long, thin, naked, yellow feet, caked with mud, came down the steps, feeling their way over the carpet. She sat in the corner offered, tucked her ragged, soiled skirt about her, and drew her piece of shawl over her breast. Her arms were bare, and the elbow-joints projected sharply. Her kerchief seemed to have worn in holes on her head; the gray wool stuck out everywhere, like moss from an old mattress. She had drifted in from the street through the back gate, in her rags, her dirt, and her mendicancy, like some belated bug, attracted from the distant swamps to the gaslight.

They began to joke her in a rough, kind-hearted way.

"*Hé!* but, Nourrice, you love balls still!"

"Like old times, *hein*, Nourrice?"

"You could show them how to dance, Nourrice?"

"Who used to run off to the balls at night, Nourrice?" for they all knew her; a character famous for escapades in the old times.

But the old woman paid as little attention to them as if she had never heard them. The lips of her sunken mouth, into which all the wrinkles of her face converged, were as if glued together; and so the comments resumed their way without regard to her.

"Who is she dancing with there—that little Mam'zelle of the Goupilleaus?"

"Eh! but she's not pretty!"

"Not pretty? Mam'zelle Motte not pretty? *Ah, par exemple!*" Marcélite's voice took another tone from that in which she had criticised others.

"*Chut!* it is her, Mam'zelle!"

"Here is Madame la Grande-Duchesse again." They had all been attendants on the opera-bouffe, and could fix a title on Madame Montyon as well as any one.

"She has not got any prettier, that's the truth!"

"Nourrice! Nourrice!" shaking her by the shoulder, "look, look—your old mistress!"

"A nice old mistress, *va!*"

"A mistress who was too good to own slaves; she had to sell them."

"Madame had susceptibilities; Madame was a Parisian, not a creole."

"*Hé!* Nourrice, that's the God's truth, isn't it? She sold you?"

"Sold the nurse of her baby; *Seigneur!*"

"It was not her baby, it was the first one's baby."

"That's the reason she was jealous; jealous of Nourrice;" and they all laughed except Nourrice herself, who pressed her thin fingers over her mouth, and looked on the crowd below.

A late comer, a very late comer, ascended the stairs, and they all stood up to let him pass. He walked as if hurrying from a danger, his large, blonde face exhibiting the nervous panic of a bashful man; a panic not assuaged by the coolly critical eyes that scanned him up the long way, eyes that were pitiless to anything like a social infirmity.

"But who is he?"

"*Pas connais li.*" ("Don't know him"—a current creoleism.)

"Not one of us, sure;" meaning creoles.

"An American from up-town."

"Some rich American," corrected another.

He soon descended; the nervousness driven from his face to his

hands—great, stout hands, which worked incessantly, smoothing his white gloves, the sleeve of his coat, and travelling up to his cravat. He avoided the gaze of the women, betraying a fatal cowardice, and made his way through the old gentlemen around the punch-bowl, to the parlors. He was, in fact, a débutant. No young girl could have been more overcome on entering the room than he; no one could have felt more helpless and bashful; no one could have more excusably yielded to the strong temptation to flight. He felt awkward in his new clothes, not one article of which was an acquaintance of more than an hour's standing; he was vexed that their delay in coming had postponed his arrival at the ball until such an ostentatiously late hour; and the people all around him were as new as his clothes. His long, quiet evenings at the plantation, after the hard day's work, came up before him. There he was at ease, there he was master, there, on the finest plantation in St. James's Parish, he was in a position to inspire, not feel, a panic. He remained at the door stock-still under the charm of retrospection, until some deputy of the Fleurissant family, all apologies and fine speeches, put an end to the uncomplimentary position. According to etiquette he was taken around the circle and introduced to every individual, chaperon and relative, composing it.

"Monsieur Morris Frank."

"Monsieur Maurice Frank."

"Monsieur Maurice Frank."

"Of the Parish of St. James."

"Of the Ste. Marie plantation of the Parish of St. James."

The repetition, reinforcing name with title, title with name, accumulated such a deposit of self-esteem, that at the end of it he could really assume the air of a young proprietor with a large bank account; the air which distinguished the plantationless, bank-accountless young scions about him.

"From St. James, you say? from St. James, Monsieur Fleurissant. What a chance! He may know something of an old friend of mine, a particular friend. Monsieur Deron—Philippe Deron, of the 'Ste. Helena' plantation ——"

The dance was still going on; the soft, light dresses crushing up against him, and the white necks everywhere, like the dropping petals of the Malmaison roses from the vine on his gallery at home. He had to move this way and that, to keep out of the waltz.

"Monsieur Deron—Philippe Deron."

At first he could only bow low and reverentially, with blushes of pleasure. His language could not come on the instant, before such a volume of black velvet and the diamond necklace, that was so beautiful it charmed the beholders with admiration of the neck it encircled; and the yellow marabout feathers, like his own tender ducklings at home, in her hair.

"Monsieur Philippe Deron."

His face lighted with pleasure at the ease of the reply; "Philippe Deron? intimately; his plantation is next to mine."

"And his crop? his crop last year?"

"Superb."

"Superb? Ah, you see that! The fox! Where is Goupilleau? Goupilleau must hear that! Come with me, we will find Goupilleau. You just tell Goupilleau that. A superb crop! Ah, I have caught you this time, my friend Deron!"

"Mademoiselle Pauline Ruche—— "

The introducer had reached the end of the circle, when Madame Montyon prevented the pleasure about to be expressed on both sides by carrying one of the participants bodily away.

"Goupilleau! listen! Ah, that Deron! what turpitude!"

The patience as well as the politeness of even a notary, however, can come to an end.

"To-morrow morning, at ten o'clock, in my office." Monsieur Goupilleau was firm and silent after these words.

"The manners of a policeman, my dear, absolutely;" explained Tante Pauline to her companion, whom fate had only released by intervals from her depressing lonesomeness.

"That is the way with those *révolutionnaires;* they come from the depths; not from the *bourgeoisie*, my dear, but from the people, the people." And she pronounced these words with the unique expression of contempt which she conscientiously reserved for them.

"He is a nobody, too, a blind person could see that! But look! Our Parisian is at last caught. You see that little creature, that little Motte. Don't tell me that Eugénie Lareveillère is not an *intriguante!* Oh, she knows how to manage. He is a *parti*, my dear, a *parti;* no one can deny that. Goupilleau? *Mon Dieu!* when a woman has been Lareveillère for fifty years, who can 'Goupilleau' her all of a sudden? Ah, see there; she goes rapidly; our young creole girls are learning from the Americans the art to flirt. (Flurrter, she pronounced it.) You know it means for the young lady to pre-

tend to be in love, in order to induce the young man to be so in reality. What! Odile's husband? Henri Maziel? Not a cent, my dear." She turned to her interlocutor on the left. "He is drawing the devil by the tail, I hear." (*Il tire le diable par la queue.*)

"Not a cent," she had said it of almost every one in the room, not from default of imagination, but from the monotonously truthful, unfortunate circumstances.

"The '*on dit*' "—Tante Pauline suddenly remembered that she had let a precious subject pass without relating all she knew about it. "The *on dit* about this young girl—you must have heard it. Odile, you have heard it, have you not? Quite romantic; of course they tried to hush it. Very naturally, but it is the truth, nevertheless. I see nothing in it to be ashamed of, or, of course, I would not repeat it. Madame Hirtemont told me she got it from Artémise, the *coiffeuse;* Artémise Angely, you remember, she belonged to Amènaide Angely. Well——"

"Tante Pauline"—the fan was tapping away: the young married woman extended her hand and arrested it. "For the love of heaven do not repeat that silly story! It is so absurd—and justice to the poor young lady. Besides, remember how kind Eugénie Goupilleau has always been to you."

"If it is a story, there is no harm in repeating it. I don't say positively it is the truth. Silly! It is not silly, even if it were true."

She resented bitterly any imputation of maliciousness. Her kind heart repudiated any desire to do evil. She talked simply with the vague idea of affording gratification. She was also proud of her reputation of knowing everybody and everything, and desired to sustain it. So, to prove her perfect disinterestedness and to leave it to the impartiality of her hearers, she related all the circumstances from the beginning, from the very beginning, where Artémise, the *coiffeuse*, had been called in to comb Madame Lareveillère for a grand concert and distribution of prizes, "and such an *éclaircissement*, my dear, about Eugénie's toilet mysteries," etc., etc., carrying her story successfully and fluently to the end. "Although the Mottes are of good family, best creole blood. Marie Modeste Viel was at the convent the same time as I; the old Ursulines' Convent. Your mother was there, too, Odile. She was pretty enough, but delicate, and so '*gna gna*' (lackadaisical)," uttering the criticism with appropriate grimace and intonation.

"Alphonse Motte was a very nice young man, quite *comme il faut*. Not over-burdened with intelligence, however, or he would have seen how delicate she was; every one else knew that she could not live long. Oh, the daughter has lost nothing by being at the Goupilleaus'! It was very kind of old Armand Goupilleau to take her in. He's no relation, at least, not that I know of;" which effectually decided the matter for her hearers, human certainty of knowledge not going in New Orleans beyond that possessed by Mademoiselle Pauline Ruche.

The story, as water by capillary attraction, soaked farther and farther away from the fountain-head, making the tour of the room as exactly as Mr. Morris Frank had done; going from one to another until all had become permeated with it to such an extent that each one felt authorized to issue a private version from such facts as her own eyes could see, her own ears hear, and her own intelligence logically suggest; with the young girl in question dancing before them in a fluttering white dress, with a crown of blue myosotis on her black hair, her face beautiful in her complete self-surrender to the joy of the passing moment.

"He is really the only *parti* in the room."

"Yes, he has money, he can marry."

"He's welcome to it at that price. Running away from his country during a war. It is not a Villars who could do that."

"This was it! This was happiness!" Since she had worn long dresses she had caught it every now and then. In the fragment of a dream or in one of those fleeting day-moments that shoot like meteors at times across the serenity of a young girl's mind; diffusing a strange, supernatural sensation of causeless bliss, passing away with a sigh; the absent-minded, causeless sighs of young girls, who, when asked about it, answer truthfully, "I do not know, it came just so." A sensation of bliss which their age does not permit them to understand, but which they recognize distinctly afterwards, when it comes at the proper time; and then they feel that they have lived and known this moment ages before.

All around Marie Modeste were dancing her school companions, young ladies now — and she was a young lady, too! — almost disguised one from another in their beauty and mature manner. Could that be Elmina, who had passed hours in the corner with a fool's-cap on? And Loulou, who had almost wept her eyes away over faults of orthography? And Ernestine, who had monopolized the

leathern medal, and Gabrielle, who had waged a persistent war, a perfect Siege of Troy in duration, against her music teacher? And all those who had passed out of the gates of St. Denis before her, year after year; graduated into the, then far-distant, great world? They did not dance, but walked around with the languid movements and preoccupied eyes of young matrons. "What a bright, what a beautiful world! Was there ever a dark day in it? Was it ever so bright or so beautiful to any one before?" So they all thought; each one dancing in a fresh, new, original creation; a special paradise for each one to name and classify. When they looked at anything, they looked at themselves in the mirrors, or at their partners; not at the crows-feet and wrinkles which had travelled from the hearts to the faces of the débutantes of twenty-five years ago, the possessors, then, of a paradise too. The young girls had, of course, consulted the "*bon aventure*" about him, the future one whom they hoped to meet this, or some other near, evening. Was he to be fair or brown, tall or short, widower or bachelor? Candles were even now burning before distant altars, placed by the zealous hands of some of those very nurses out on the stairs; the saints were being arraigned, perhaps, by some of the impatient mother-spectators. Quadrilles, *deux-temps*, and waltzes succeeded each other, but the heedless young girls thought only of the pleasure of the dance, forgetting the profit. How could they do otherwise, with that new life beating in their veins and their hearts making tentative first motions? And under that music! What a language it spoke to them! That warm, free, full, subtilely sensualized African music. The buds themselves would have burst into blossom under the strains, and the little birds anticipated spring.

"Ah, what a beautiful world it is! How good it is to live! How good God is!"

And it came about as Marie Modeste danced with the young "Parisianized creole;" it is so inexplicable, so indescribable; to state it destroys the delicacy of it, to confess it almost vulgarizes it; but an impression was made on their fresh, impressionable hearts, slight and faint, easy to efface or subdue, but more easily kept alive and fixed. Neither knew—how could they? it was the first time—what it was. A dissatisfaction came over the young girl's heart; her pleasure all departed; she could talk no more, and when she looked in the mirror now, it reflected not her face but her mood. And he, seeing the light pass from her face, became self-accusing, self-depreciative.

When the time came for them to part, they both started, as if being together were a sudden impropriety. He followed her upstairs to the dressing-room without a word to express, to retrieve himself, so absorbed in the new sensation that he stumbled over an old negro woman who had apparently forgotten, in her enjoyment of the scene, to take herself away with the rest.

Her companions it was that had forgotten to drive her away into the back yard for supper, or into the back street for shelter. The music crept through her brain like soft fingers through her matted, knotted, massed hair, loosening the tangles in her half-crazy thoughts. She kept her fingers pressed tight against her lips. Not a word of the myriads that teemed in her heart disturbed the scented, warm atmosphere.

"My little heart. My little love. My little kiss. My little soul." A long-buried litany of diminutive tenderness, the irrepressible cajoleries of colored creole nurses. She nodded at times, and dreamed she was at the bedside of a patient. The lace-lined trains of tired ladies on their way to the dressing-room swept over her. At the sound of every man's step she would raise her head alertly, and the gleam in her eye would transfuse the white film that obscured her vision.

"A little boy with black hair, which she used to curl, black eyes, which she used to kiss, and lace petticoats!" If he would only come up the stair that way! "Oh, he will know me! He will do me justice! He will give me satisfaction for all, all! His poor old Nourrice! His nigger! His dog! His Patate!"

Her heart, which had cast tendernesses on her nursling, cast humiliations on herself. Some one stumbled over her; she caught hold of the baluster and pulled herself up, instinct with old servile apology. Bidden by the same impulse that had brought her there, she followed after, close to the footsteps of the young man; stretching out her arms to catch him, to detain him.

"I know you! I know you! It's God did it! God!"

She had caught him somehow; half pulling, half pushing, had got him through the open door to the dark gallery behind.

"Your Nourrice! Your poor old Nourrice!"

He had not pronounced the word in twenty years. "Nourrice." It meant then a world of solicitude; protection from danger, covering from cold, food when hungry, drink when thirsty, a cooling, a soothing, a lullaby, a great strong, dark bulwark to fly to, a willing Provi-

dence in reach of baby arms. He stretched out his arms again at the word, they reached far over the limp, malodorous object at his feet.

"It's God sent you! God!"

He felt her lips, a soft, humid, toothless mass, pressing again and again on his hands. Beyond her, over the irregular roofs and chimneys and balconies, the skies stretched full of hot, gleaming, southern stars; the music from the piano. the chattering voices in the dressing-room, filled the gallery. She kept raising her voice louder and louder—he could hear plainly enough—for her own dull ears to hear the epitome of her sufferings.

"Little master! I've no home, no bed, no food, no nothing. I'm 'most naked! I'm 'most starved!"

The heart-rending sob of human desperation broke her voice.

"Nourrice! Poor old Nourrice! Patate!"

It was an inspiration, his recollection of the old nickname. God must have ordered it with the rest.

"Patate! You haven't forgotten 'Patate'? Saviour!"

Her tears began to fall; they should have been soiled, wrinkled, bleared, and distorted from such eyes.

"I've no home, no bed, no food, no nothing!" she repeated. "The little children run after me in the street, they throw dirt at me; '*Hé! la folle! la folle!*' (crazy woman)," raising her voice in piercing imitation of their cruelty. "The little nigger children, the rottenness of the earth! I fall in the gutters! The policemen drag me off. They club me — they beat me all over — they tear my clothes! Nigger policemen, little master!" Passion exhausted her breath at every item; her voice came hoarse and gusty out of her exposed, bony chest. "Clubbed by nigger policemen! Ah, God! They lock me up in the calaboose! (jail). Poor me!"

Her breath and recital ended in a wail of misery. The wail and the misery reached him, not here, but in the bright, gay, selfish world of Paris, where he had passed a happy youth, a useless manhood. "France? What was he, an American, a creole, doing in France?"

"It was not right to sell me! It was not right to sell the nurse of a child!"

"Sell?" he thought. "Sell?"

"I begged on my knees, I begged and begged!"

"Sell," he thought. "Sell her and spend the money in France."

"What did God free me for, *hein?* To be beaten by niggers? To be run after by little nigger dogs? Why didn't he kill me?"

"Philo! Odette! Tom!" They were her children. She began to curse them, horribly, frightfully.

"They stole my money! They drove me out! They put the police on me! They set the children to insult me! I curse them! I curse them!"

Her shawl had fallen from her shoulders. She pulled and tore in the darkness at her shrivelled bare breasts, as if to tear away the ungrateful lips they had once nourished. He picked up the wretched rag and folded it around her. It felt good, to touch her ill-treated limbs, to sooth the violence away from her trembling head.

"Hush! Hush!" He tried to conform his Parisian accent to her creole ears, he even recollected some fragmentary creolisms. "Hush! hush! Philo, Odette, Tom; forget them! It is Charlot you must remember! Your little Charlot; eh, Nourrice?"

The Goupilleaus were going down-stairs now; the husband and wife arm in arm. He should have been there for the young lady.

"Give me satisfaction! Give me justice, Monsieur Charles!"

He remembered now distinctly hearing her call his father so: "Monsieur Charles." A faint, shadowy form came out of his memory; it never came more distinctly than that, but he knew it for his own mother, and as he thought of her, his eyes again sought the stairway; the blue myosotis wreath was just disappearing. His own mother was a creole girl too, like Marie Modeste Motte.

"A little cabin somewhere and a few picayunes to keep me from starving until I die! You are rich! rich!"

"To-morrow, Nourrice! To-morrow, the cabin; now, the picayunes!"

His white gloves received the soil of the gutter-mud as he took her horny, wrinkled hands in his.

"And those mulattresses! those impudent mulattresses in their fine clothes! As if they had not been freed too!"

She was a mulattress herself, but she could not forbear the insult, the curiously galling insult invented by the pure blacks.

"To-morrow! To-morrow morning, Nourrice! See, it is almost here!"

As Tante Pauline had said, it was a kind of judgment-day for the poor creoles. It is not pleasant to be in debt, but it is a comfortable mitigation of it to have an ocean between one and one's creditor. They could not help feeling towards Madame Montyon as on the real judgment-day the poor sinners may feel towards the archangel who

wakes them from the sweet security of death to receive long-delayed punishment. The good lady carried out her plans only too well. At the end of her prepared speeches, finding that the respondent did not assume the rôle of either thinking or speaking attributed to him or to her, she was enabled to elaborate her own manner and argument *à l'indiscrétion.* She lent not only one, but both, hands to her affairs. Her conversation rolled on uninterruptedly, exhaling rent bills, due-bills, promissory notes, mortgages, and every other variety of debt which had been used to procure money from her or old Arvil. Her voice took the suavity out of the truffles, the bouquet from the champagne. The creole gentlemen (and who says creole says gastronome) had never eaten their patés, woodcock, and galantine with such obtuse palates. Law, conscience, honor! She arrayed herself and her obligations under the protection of each and all. The result might have been foreseen—honor must not be lightly touched upon before Monsieur Henri Maziel. If he was of the least solvent pecuniarily, he was good for any amount payable by the code.

"That, that is a little strong," he muttered; "*ça, c'est un peu fort.*"

He sought out the undertakers of duelling pomps and ceremonies, and promptly requested Monsieur Charles Montyon, then descending the staircase, to furnish at his earliest convenience reparation to creole honor, impugned by his step-mother. The waiters carried it to the back yard, the guests whispered it in the dressing-room; Madame Montyon herself was the only one to ignore it.

"In Paris millionaires and *richissimes* alone give such suppers," she screamed, holding her black-velvet train high up, out of the way of the waiters. "And Goupilleau says the community is bankrupt."

"My dear lady, we must make an effort for our young people; we must marry our daughters."

Marriage was the last necessity for her to recognize.

"But on what basis, on what basis, in the name of heaven, do you intend to found your families?"

"On love, pure and simple; it is the best we have, having no money."

"Love! Love! Can you buy bread for love in New Orleans? meat? rent houses? pay debts with love?"

"Would to heaven we could, Madame!"

The last carriages rolled away in the breaking of a new day.

The twenty-eighth of December succeeded to the inheritance of consequence left by the twenty-seventh. Old Madame Fleurissant slept under the weight of her ninety, ninety-two, or ninety-five years and the fatigues of the *soirée*, a hermetically sealed sleep, while her guests carried to their homes and into their future lives the germs of variations in both, which had been sown through it.

Even a *soirée*, however unusual the occurrence, could not disturb the equilibrium of Monsieur Goupilleau's notarial existence. He descended at his habitual hour the next morning to his office, situated on the ground floor of his dwelling, and resumed the interrupted business of yesterday; leaving stoically on the threshold all thoughts of the seducing comforts and luxuries so recently installed in his chambers up-stairs.

He was soon immersed in the "Succession d'Arvil," extracting the papers from a tin box, smoothing, cataloguing, annotating them, and arranging them in distinct little piles on his long office table.

The private door of his office was pushed open by Marcélite.

"Monsieur!" she said, "Monsieur!" her voice boding ill news.

The whole upper stories of his house, with their treasures of domestic love and happiness, tottered under the notary's sudden fear.

"Speak quick!"

"Monsieur"—she gave vent to a long-repressed excitement, her words coming rapidly, incoherently—"that, that was Morris Frank last night!"

"Ah!" Monsieur Goupilleau gave a sigh of relief.

"Morris Frank! But who is Morris Frank? Do you know who Morris Frank is?"

"Morris Frank?" repeated Monsieur Goupilleau, wonderingly.

"A little, white-headed boy," she bent over and stretched her hand out, at the height of a young child, above the floor, "playing around the plantation quarters with the little negro children; the son of the overseer, a German overseer; a man who hired himself out to whip slaves he was too poor to own!" Her scathing, fierce tongue brought the fire into her eyes.

"My God! The son of an overseer at the ball of the aristocrats! On my old plantation?" She read the confused inquiry in the notary's face. "The plantation of Monsieur Alphonse Motte; the father of my Mam'zelle. He lives there still?" Monsieur Goupilleau's face brightened with a discovery. He commenced a question: "The son of the overseer on Monsieur Motte's plantation?"

The front door of his office flew wide. Madame Montyon had jerked the knob out of the hand of the bowing clerk.

"*Hé!* Goupilleau, my friend!" she exclaimed, brusquely; "on time, you see! To work; to work! What have we here, eh?"

She had divested herself of so much the night before, and invested herself in so little this morning, that, really, her manner (which was always the same) alone remained to identify her.

She threw back the ends of her India shawl, which she had put over her purple cashmere morning *peignoir*, and tossed up her black-lace veil, under which the gray hair stood out crinkled and crisp from the crimping and manipulation of the evening before.

"Just out of bed, you see! Only a cup of coffee!"

She seated herself at the table and began recklessly to open, examine, mingle, and scatter the papers arranged by the notary.

Monsieur Goupilleau had made a sign to Marcélite to place herself in a corner.

"Pardon me, Madame," he said to the lady, rescuing some of the documents, "but these papers are now in my possession. I am responsible for them."

"Pooh! pooh!" She was about to express further contempt of the admonition, when her words were cut short by the surprising appearance of her son. He was as much astounded as she at the meeting, and more confused.

"My son! Up at this hour?" She extended her cheek for his morning salute. "What in the world do you want here, with Goupilleau? But what is that—filth?" She got it from her father to select the strongest and coarsest word, but it was not entirely inapplicable to Nourrice, who had followed him in like a spaniel.

The poor old woman started at the voice; her ears were younger than her eyes. "Ah, Madame, it was not right to sell me, an old woman, a nurse! I begged you! I begged you on my knees!"

"Will you be silent?" What revelations, the terror of her motherhood, might not be impending?

"To sell a nurse! God never intended that!"

The young man stood in close conversation with the notary.

"Eh? What is that? What is that?" Madame Montyon unceremoniously thrust herself in between them.

"Only a little cabin somewhere, little master, to keep me out of the gutters!" Old Nourrice, fearful still of her old mistress, raised her voice in anxiety.

"What is this nonsense? what is this craziness?" to her son. To the old woman: "Will you cease that whining? A little cabin? A little policeman!"

"My baby! My baby! It's your poor old Nourrice!"

"But, my son, what have you got in your head? I never got one cent for her, not one cent! Those dishonest Montamats! They were only too glad of the emancipation!"

The gentlemen had continued their conversation without attention to her. She overheard some of their words.

"Money! money! to a wretch like that! Never! never! I forbid it!" She snatched from the notary the paper he had prepared.

"Do you understand, Charles? I forbid it! I command you to desist!" She launched full speed into one of her ungovernable tempers. "A check, *tudieu!* a check! without my advice! without my consent! One must have a private fortune, *tudieu!* to pension, to squander, to throw away—a private fortune! My money, *tudieu!* my money!"

To her son's face arose an expression that only an intolerable insult could provoke; and the temper that seized him, she knew only too well what that was, if she had not been too blind to see it.

"Enough! Come, Nourrice!" The old woman followed him again; her back—the strong back he had once ridden for a horse—bent over nearly double; this time not in play, but in decrepitude.

He paused at the door and pointed to Nourrice. He had also thought of a supreme retort, an irreparable one: "She was my nurse, given me by my own mother. *You* sold her."

The door had not closed on their exit before it was opened again.

"Mr. Morris Frank, to see Monsieur Goupilleau by appointment," announced the clerk.

The young German, fresh, fair, and rosy, had to struggle almost as hard to enter an office as a parlor. "Monsieur," said he, bowing to Monsieur Goupilleau; then, remembering the lady, "Madame," to Madame Montyon; then he paused, not knowing whether to offer his hand or not, until the opportunity passed, and he had to compose something appropriate to say.

The notary came to the rescue: "Ah, Mr. Frank! You are a little early, we are not quite prepared—in fact——"

"But, Goupilleau! what do you mean? You are going to let Monsieur Frank go without giving the information? He is a witness,

don't you see, against Deron." Madame Montyon got this also from her father, her versatility in passing from one passion to another.

"As you please, Madame; interrogate Mr. Frank yourself!"

Monsieur Goupilleau was plainly preoccupied about some other matter now, but she did not see it. She put her young friend through a cross-examination to prove her point of view of the creole character, as presented by the distant Deron.

"There, you see, Goupilleau! I am right; Monsieur Frank proves everything. All you have to do now is to *make* Deron pay."

"One moment, Mr. Frank," said Monsieur Goupilleau, as the young man was preparing to leave. "Have you any objections to telling me if your plantation, the Ste. Marie plantation in the Parish of St. James, was once the property of Monsieur Alphonse Motte?"

The old lady's eyes brightened. She saw a new claim, a new debt. She looked greedily at the spread papers, and suspiciously at her young friend, ready to detect and expose any subterfuge.

"Motte? Motte? Is there something there, Goupilleau? Something new? Motte? but who are they? Motte! Motte!" She kept repeating the name to start her ear into recognition. "One of our high-minded, borrow-in-haste-and-repay-at-leisure creoles?"

Marcélite came from the corner where she had been waiting.

"Pardon, Madame, pardon," she said, in eager, womanly defence. "Those words should not be used to designate the deceased Monsieur Alphonse Motte."

"Eh! eh!" Madame Montyon responded sharply to the assault. "What is this? Whom have we here? One of the family?"

The quadroon's eyes burned at the insult. The blood rushed to her head, deepening the color of her dark skin, reddening her lips, swelling her throat, inflating her nostrils, maddening her beyond all discretion. She raised her voice in the impudent way quadroons know so well, and looked at the white lady with an expression which, brave as she was, once she would not have dared.

"Madame is, perhaps, not satisfied; the insults of last night were, perhaps, not enough; Madame apparently does not mind duels; she would have one every day. Madame, perhaps, loves blood, or perhaps Madame thinks Monsieur Henri Maziel cannot fight, or perhaps she thinks her son has more lives than one; or——"

Even Morris Frank was prompt in the emergency. He caught Marcélite by the arm.

"Silence!"

"Marcélite!" the notary raised his voice in anger.

"Speak! I command you, wretch! Goupilleau, make her talk, I say! A duel! My son!"

Physical and verbal violence struggled for the mastery. Her face changed rapidly from crimson to white, then to crimson again; her lips trembled and became blue. She fell into her chair. Was it apoplexy or a swoon? She responded to the quick touch of the notary.

"Goupilleau! Goupilleau!" her voice was all anguish, all submission, now. "She says—she says," pointing in the direction of Marcélite. "My son!—a duel!" She tried to rise, to pull herself up by the help of the table.

"Wait," said Monsieur Goupilleau, forcing her back into her chair. "Do not stir. Not a word until I return!"

The little man had a manner which in emergencies could rise above humanity and impose commands on the most exalted. In the very next room, sitting at one of his desks, plodding over some notarial copying, Monsieur Goupilleau possessed the very Supreme Court of the Duel, the very infallibility of the code of honor; a tall, thin, sallow young man, behind whose fierce black moustaches were no front teeth whatever.

"Ah," thought the notary, after the first glance; "Théodule is silent; Théodule is mysterious; Théodule has on his black coat and white cravat; a duel, sure!"

The old lady had laid her head on the table. Her vigor had snapped. "My money! my money!" and the retort, "My own mother," that was all she could hear from the buzzing in her ears. What she saw? All she could see; what, as a soldier's daughter, she should have better borne. When she raised her face on the notary's return, her eyes, her little, strong, bold, brigadier eyes, were weeping.

"Madame!" It was the sympathy in Monsieur Goupilleau's voice that prepared her for the worst.

"Madame, words spoken last night, no doubt in an unguarded moment; insults passed, taxing with dishonor honorable personages; under the circumstances, Madame, nothing is to be done." He shrugged his shoulders hopelessly, just as Théodule had done. "Gentlemen even if they have no money, I might say, particularly if they have no money, pay their debts of honor.

"Nothing to be done, *tudieu!* Nothing to be done! You

dare tell me that, Goupilleau? Me, a mother!" She had strength enough to rise now, and shake her head at the notary until her bonnet dropped to the floor. "You dare tell any mother that, when her son is going to fight a duel?"

The "Succession d'Arvil" lay scattered everywhere; documents folded, unfolded, face up, face down. She seized one and grasped a pen. Her fingers had not recovered nor could her eyes see clearly; but despite wavering, blots, and irregularities the words yet stood out with sufficient clearness:

"I apologize to Monsieur —— for offensive words spoken at Madame Fleurissant's ball last night. Beg him to believe that a moneyed debt is not a debt of honor.

"LOUISE DUPERRE MONTYON."

"*Tudieu!* nothing to be done! Goupilleau, you are a fool! You will see that something is to be done. Here, supply the name and send it to that ——" and she called Monsieur Henri Maziel, in French, the name of a man who prepares ambushes for assassination. "What's that?" She jerked her head aside from a touch. It was Marcélite gently replacing her bonnet, and examining her face and head with professional interest.

"Blessed Virgin!" she thought; "what a genius her hair-dresser must be!"

"Here, my good woman," said the old lady, when the bonnet was fastened and the lace veil dropped. "Give me your arm; conduct me home, immediately."

The notary read first one side of the paper, then the other, scratched over with the hard terms of some of old Arvil's extortions.

"Ah!" said he, looking around his office, deserted now of all except the young German, who was still trying to think of something to say, something to do.

Bred in a classical school, Monsieur Goupilleau was addicted to phrases that came epigrammatically. Shrugging his shoulders, his eyes beamed with the intelligence that only legal experience can give, and with the satirical intelligence which only such experience with women inspires. "*Ah! Grattez la femme et vous trouverez la mère.*" (Scratch the woman and you will find the mother.)

GRACE KING.

CRITICISMS, NOTES, AND REVIEWS.

CHURCH UNION.

MR. HODGE'S article in the present number of this REVIEW is written in a frank, earnest, and generous manner, and deserves careful attention. The author is right in speaking of the concessions of the House of Bishops to non-prelatical communions as remarkable, and it is simple justice to meet them in the spirit that prompted them. It is too much to hope that the reunion of Protestant Christendom will be effected on the basis described by Mr. Hodge, but it is surely not too much to hope that in the present agitation of the reunion problem there is the earnest of a more cordial reciprocity of feeling than has hitherto existed between some Christian denominations. The churches are not ready for reunion. Some Christians believe that the primitive *ecclesia* should be reproduced in the ecclesiastical organizations of the present, and that Episcopacy does not represent it. Some attach comparatively little value to organic union; and a great many, influenced, no doubt, by old associations, and exhibiting the conservatism of use and wont, are inhospitable to any argument upon the subject, and look upon all schemes for a reunion of the churches as chimerical. There is, however, among Christians a growing feeling of catholicity and a growing dislike of denominational rancor and party-spirit. The average church-member thinks more of brotherhood than of church polity, and it is chiefly as indicative of this brotherly feeling that he values the overtures for church union.

The action of the House of Bishops is far in advance of any proposal that has come from any quarter in the toleration of existing differences of opinion, and the readiness of the organization making the proposals for reunion to forego its individual preferences. We make this statement without qualification, notwithstanding the fact that the position taken by the bishops seems to involve some inconsistency. It is said that the proposed union does not contemplate the absorption of existing denominations into the Episcopal Church, but the union of all denominations for the sake of constituting a new body. Inasmuch as the constituent units of the new Church are to be the existing denominations, these denominations must be regarded as coördinate branches of the Church now: or else one of the existing denominations must be regarded as the Church—which, however enlarged by embracing all other denominations, and however changed in form by the toleration of existing denominational differences, will nevertheless

continue to retain its identity and historic continuity. Which of these plans does the proposed scheme for reunion present to us? The language used by the bishops would imply the former. If that be so, the denominations being invited to enter into the reunion measure as peers, they must be regarded as peers whatever the fate of that measure may be; and it would be unreasonable for the Protestant Episcopal Church, after this declaration of the bishops, to assume an attitude of exclusiveness toward other Christian communions.

Apparently, however, this is not the meaning of the proposition; for the scheme, as Mr. Hodge explains it, contemplates the consecration of the bishops of the new Church by the existing bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the reördination of all ministers not episcopally ordained. The House of Bishops does not regard this as the absorption of all denominations by the Episcopal Church, but we confess that it is only the relative magnitudes of absorber and absorbed that would lead us to take the bishops' view of the proposed transaction. We are intending no adverse criticism, but we submit that the two positions here supposed are incompatible, and that choice must be made between them. It would be ungenerous, in view of the concessions already made, if the non-prelatical bodies should insist that prelacy be likewise given up. Mr. Hodge well says that concessions should not be all on one side; and he does not overstep the bounds of modesty when he further says that since the Episcopalian thinks, rightly or wrongly, that special grace is given in episcopal ordination, the minister non-episcopally ordained should be willing to accept episcopal ordination, although he be entirely satisfied that the ordination he has already received is valid. There would be the more force in this argument if it were first conceded that it is an imperative duty to seek to realize the organic unity of the Church, or that the sacrifices made for the sake of unity would be attended by manifest advantage to religion.

There is, however, good reason to fear that the advantage of reunion on the plan proposed would not counterbalance the loss attending a disbanding of the existing denominations. The churches would lay aside their denominational names, and the new organization be known, let us suppose, as the Church of the United States. The reproach of schism would be taken away, and in the eyes of many this would be a great gain. It might be possible to agree upon a single policy in the work of missions, and this would be a decided advantage. In other respects, however, the existing state of things would continue. Individual choices could not be interfered with, and, therefore, an effective parish system would be impossible. The law of elective affinity would hold sway. Some churches would be furnished with baptisteries, and some with altar-cloths. There would be liturgical and non-liturgical worship. New churches, new creeds, and new modes of worship would be limited only by the desire and the ability of those possessing similar preferences to give organized expression to them. There would be the same theological opinions and the same centres of theological thought that exist

to-day. Theological debate would go on, and theological party-spirit wax hot; or else we should lose interest in theology, and, falling into a condition of theological stagnation, the last state would be worse than the first. Reunion, according to the terms proposed, does not seem to offer such advantages that the ministers of non-episcopal churches should feel under obligation to accept episcopal ordination.

But, if the gains were greater than they are likely to be, it would still be necessary to take notice of the losses, and they are very considerable. We should be sorry to see the Protestant Episcopal Church lose her identity, or retain only so much of a likeness to her former self as the episcopate would secure. The members of that church, we feel sure, would realize that they had sacrificed a great heritage of holy associations, for which reunion, of the kind proposed, would be a poor equivalent. This is true of the other churches, also. Denominationalism has its evils, but it has been making history during the past three hundred years; and it is not a light thing to throw away the fruits of denominational experience, to sacrifice the solidarity and the sympathies of denominational life, for that which, after all, could only be regarded as an experiment.

For it must be remembered that though unity be reached subsequent separation is possible. When the churches had secured the passage of the necessary Enabling Acts, and had parted with their denominational franchises, they would be without any guarantee against disruption. The new Church could not teach truth except in very meagre outline; could not publish a catechism worthy of the name; could not defend the faith, and could not purge herself of error. Her genius would be comprehensive to an extent that would discourage all sharp theological definition as divisive and tending to schism. Would it be possible for the Church to hold together under a policy like this? And would not her unity be put in peril by practical questions that would be constantly arising? How would it be possible, for example, to secure the peaceful and harmonious election of men to fill vacant bishoprics? How would those members of a diocese who formerly belonged to the Protestant Episcopal Church like to have a bishop who did not believe in confirmation, nor in infant baptism, nor a liturgy? And if they did not like it, what would be their remedy?

It is above all things necessary to the success of such a reunion as the one contemplated by Mr. Hodge, that the parties to it believe it to be the solemn duty of all Christians to strive after the corporate unity of Christendom. A union based upon expediency or entered into for the sake of fostering good-feeling, or in order that a more aggressive missionary work might be done, would contain in itself the promise and the potency of disruption at no distant day. Do the Christians of America believe that it is their bounden duty to seek the realization of the corporate unity of the Church, and that in perpetuating the existing denominations they are committing sin? We venture to say that they do not.

If, however, the desire for church union were more general than it is,

and under its influence one episcopally officered Church were to take the place of the existing denominations, the union thus formed would hardly be permanent unless the parties to it were profoundly convinced that Episcopacy is the divinely appointed form of ecclesiastical organization. It is not enough to accept the historic episcopate for the sake of union or as a very excellent way of administering the affairs of the Church. Let there be a prevailing belief in the obligatory character of Episcopacy, and a union formed upon the basis of the episcopate might stand the strain of conflicting schools of theological opinion. As yet, however, the non-prelatical churches do not admit the divine right of prelacy, and they are not likely to admit it so long as foremost thinkers of the Church of England, like Bishop Lightfoot and Doctor Hatch, exert any appreciable influence on their opinions.

But if ecclesiastical unity is compatible with diversity of opinion regarding forms of faith and modes of worship, why is it not compatible also with diversity of sentiment regarding ecclesiastical polity? The bishops have gone a long way in the toleration of differences for the sake of unity. Had they gone a little further they would have found that the end for which they strive is already attained, and that unity already exists. If they could have conceded that organization is not of the essence of the Church, they might have been led to conclude that the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church consists of all those who profess the true religion, together with their children; and that its unity and its indefectibility are alike conserved by making it independent of the accidents of church polity and confessions of faith. It is a common life, and not common polity or common prayer, that makes church unity. The Church is an organism: it need not be an organization. It is a mistake to seek the unity of the body in the bond of prelacy, instead of the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

THE POSTHUMOUS LETTERS OF THACKERAY.*

CRITICS, more than thirty years ago, summed up the essence of Thackeray's works in the word cynicism; and his character, viewed from the same standpoint, also suffered misconstruction. More appreciative and penetrating judges have now reversed the verdict upon his works, but have failed to gain a complete and satisfactory understanding of the author's character. For there is some truth in the old proposition, that a writer does not necessarily express his nature in his art-creations. The chief value, then, of this collection of letters lies in helping the world to a knowledge of the real Thackeray. His deep and tender affection for Mrs. Brookfield renders the letters addressed to her especially important. They were written, now when "blue devils," and again when gay spirits, possessed him, when he

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* *A Collection of Letters of Thackeray*, 1847–1855. Written to his friends, W. H. Brookfield and Mrs. Jane Octavia Brookfield. With portraits and reproductions of letters and drawings. New York, 1887: Charles Scribner's Sons.

was perplexed and despondent, and when happy and hopeful. Nothing is reserved. "If I mayn't tell you what I feel, what is the use of a friend?" he asks. He often refers to the comfort of knowing that there was one to whom he could thus unburden his soul. "I think I only write naturally to one person now," he observes in one place, "and make points and compose sentences to others." The selections from these unaffected outpourings of the great novelist's heart have been made with the care which a true friend alone can exercise. Some, indeed, are so unimportant as to seem out of place among the majority, that are rich in interest; yet the reader soon feels himself on such intimate terms with the writer that he would consider himself slighted, were even the mere notes of invitation omitted.

The conception of Thackeray's character must be gained from the total impression left by the letters, and not from stray passages. There are, however, some isolated parts which have the normal ring, which express the true average of his mental and moral make-up. For example, when he criticises the doctrine of "striving to be cheerful": "*A quoi bon*, convulsive grins and humbugging good-humor? Let us have a reasonable cheerfulness, and melancholy too, if there is occasion for it—and no more hypocrisy in life than need be." He sympathized heartily with his friend Carlyle, in his hatred for shams and cant. "Ah, me—when shall we reach the truth? How can we with imperfect organs? But we can get nearer and nearer, or at least eliminate falsehood." He himself declares that he possesses "that precious natural quality of love," but not "unalloyed," and exclaims: "O God! purify it, and make my heart clean." These quotations serve as touchstones, by which to reach a knowledge of his character. They make it hard for one to believe that he was ever cynical in the bitter sense of the word. This was certainly not a trait of the man, when his nature was developed and mellowed in his riper years, and when his mind, to use his own expression, had grown gray and bald. His satires upon the follies and shortcomings of humanity were tempered rather with a loving and comprehensive sympathy. The conclusion of one of the letters is a fitting summary of this attitude toward his fellow-beings: "*O vanitas vanitatum!* God bless all!"

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RECORD.

POLITICS.—DOMESTIC.

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY.— THE POLICY OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S Administration during the last six months has been without important change. The proportion of Democrats in the CIVIL SERVICE has constantly become larger by the appointment of Democratic officers to succeed Republican ones, whenever vacancies for any reason have occurred. But there has been no violent departure from the policy of appointment by merit, adopted at the beginning of the Administration, and the "pressure" of office-seekers has become very much weaker. Early in June an estimate was made that 9,000 civil offices of importance, outside the scope of the civil service rules, were held by Republicans. Of these, 400 were "Presidential" post-masters, 8,000 post-masters of the Fourth class, 80 consuls, 5 district-attorneys, 6 marshals, 8 Territorial judges, 10 Indian agents, and the rest of other kinds. At the unveiling of the statue of Garfield in Washington, May 12, the President made a brief address wherein he spoke of "the dangers of a mad chase after partisan spoils," and expressed the hope that the statue would strengthen the "solemn resolve to purge forever from our political methods and from the operation of our Government the perversions and misconceptions which gave birth to passionate and bloody thoughts."—The President gave verbal assent to a suggestion made by Adjutant-General Drum to return the CONFEDERATE BATTLE FLAGS in the War Department at Washington, to the Governors of the States to which the troops bearing them belonged. This proposition provoked the indignation of many Grand Army posts, of Commander-in-Chief Fairchild, and of several Governors of Northern States, Governor Foraker of Ohio, in particular. On June 16, before the order was executed, the President revoked it, expressing the opinion "that the return of these flags in the manner thus contemplated is not authorized by existing law, nor justified as an executive act." On July 4, the President cancelled an engagement to visit St. Louis in September, when the GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC should be encamped there, because of the violent expressions, and even threats, of some of the officers of the Grand Army. August 26, some of the posts in a procession at Wheeling, West Virginia, refused to walk under a banner bearing the portrait of the President, which was suspended across the street. A number of posts have adopted resolutions censuring the President for his veto of the Dependent Pension Bill, and a smaller number of them have adopted resolutions praising him. Among the latter was a post at Wilmington, Delaware, in reply to whose letter of thanks, the President wrote: "Those of our citizens not holding office, and thus entirely free from the solemn obligation of protecting the interests of the people, often fail to realize that their public servants are to a large extent debarred in official action from the indulgence of those charitable impulses, which in private life is not only harmless, but commendable."—September 30, the PRESIDENT LEFT WASHINGTON on a journey to the principal cities in the West and the South,

The principal APPOINTMENTS TO OFFICE, made by the President during the last six months, were: Robert E. Pattison of Pennsylvania, E. Ellery Anderson of New York, and David L. Littler of Illinois to be Commissioners to investigate the affairs of the Pacific railroads which have received land grants from the Government; Alexander R. Lawton, of Georgia, to be Minister to Austria; Edward F. Bingham of Ohio to be Chief-Justice of the District of Columbia; vice Chief-Justice Cartter, deceased; J. L. Rathbone to be Consul-General at Paris; James W. Hyatt of Connecticut to be Treasurer of the United States to succeed C. N. Jordan, resigned; E. H. Lacomb to be additional United States Judge for the Second New York Judicial Circuit; Prof. G. Brown Goode to be Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, vice Prof. S. F. Baird, deceased; S. S. Carlisle of Louisiana to be Minister Resident and Consul-General to Bolivia; William L. Putnam of Maine and James B. Angell, President of Michigan University, to act with the Secretary of State in the negotiation for a settlement with Great Britain of the disputes growing out of the fisheries question.

By an order of the President, issued on May 21, TWENTY-TWO INTERNAL REVENUE DISTRICTS WERE ABOLISHED and their territory included in other districts. The saving of salaries and expenses, it was estimated, would be about $100,000 a year.

UNDER THE DAWES ACT authorizing the President to allot lands to the Indians in severalty, a number of agents have been ap-

pointed, and the work of survey and allotment has been begun on a number of reservations. Large tracts of land have thus been thrown open to settlement by the whites. There was an outbreak of hostilities in western Colorado, late in the summer, between the civil authorities and the Ute Indians under Colorow. General Crook reported to the War Department that from the outset, with but one slight interruption, the Indians were pursued incessantly; that in every case the whites were the aggressors and fired first; and that Colorow had no desire to fight, and made use of his weapons only in self-defence. Twelve Indians were wounded, and five of them died.

The Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Lamar, on August 2, directed the Commissioner of the GENERAL LAND OFFICE to restore to settlement under the PRE-EMPTION AND HOMESTEAD LAWS a large quantity of indemnity land of the Pacific and Atlantic road—aggregating several millions of acres.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fairchild, ISSUED A CALL, May 20, for all the outstanding 3 per cent. bonds (about $17,000,000), the call maturing July 1; August 3, he ANTICIPATED THE PAYMENT OF INTEREST on the 4s and 4½s to January 1, 1888, with a rebate of 2 per cent., and invited proposals for the sale to the Government of the 4½s of 1891; again on September 22, when there was great stringency in the money market, he offered to buy until October 8, $14,000,000 of bonds. Large amounts were promptly offered for sale and the financial excitement subsided.

A POSTAL TREATY between the United States and Mexico was signed by the President June 21, which provides that the same rate of postage shall be charged on mail matter from either country to the other as each charges on domestic mail matter. It took effect on July 1. He issued a proclamation, September 26, confirming the reciprocal abolition of discriminating TONNAGE DUTIES ON SPANISH and AMERICAN SHIPPING between the two countries.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.—Early in May THE NATIONAL CIVIL-SERVICE COMMISSIONERS submitted to the President, who gave his approval thereto, AMENDMENTS TO THE CIVIL SERVICE RULES whereby promotions in the departmental service are required to be made by the results of competitive examinations. The Commissioners in May organized a permanent Board of Examiners instead of separate boards.—March 30, the special committee appointed by the NATIONAL CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE to prepare a report on the *present condition of the reform movement*, published their report. They said: "Tried by the standard of absolute fidelity to the reform as it is understood by this League, it is not to be denied that this Administration has left much to be desired." But they find that "the Administration, under enormous disadvantages and perplexities, has accomplished much for the reform of the civil service"; that "the old 'spoils system' has been seriously shaken," and that "the Administration has practically demonstrated that a clean partisan sweep of the civil service is not demanded by the intelligence of the country, and is not necessary for honest, efficient, and satisfactory government." The League in session at Newport, Aug. 2, made a similar expression, the President of the League, MR. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, saying in his address that the League does not regard the Administration, however worthy of respect and confidence for many reasons, as "in any strict sense of the words a civil-service reform Administration."

MR. OBERLY, one of the Civil Service Commissioners, DECLINED AN INVITATION to address the members of the Democratic Association of Office-holders in the Departments at Washington, because of the impropriety of a CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONER taking part in PARTISAN POLITICAL WORK; and he wrote: "I believe the Democrats should practise in power what they preached while out of power, and that they should not follow the evil example set them by the party they have succeeded in the administration of the affairs of the republic."—THE STATE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION OF INDIANA held a meeting at Indianapolis, October 7, and in its report said: "We recognize the fact that in MASSACHUSETTS, and in some large offices elsewhere, CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM HAS BEEN MAINTAINED and advanced by the President. In INDIANA the administration of the law has been left by President Cleveland in the hands of its declared enemies, and as a consequence it HAS BEEN RENDERED INOPERATIVE. The President has known the facts but he has afforded no relief."—The Baltimore *Civil-Service Reformer*, the official organ of the MARYLAND CIVIL-SERVICE ASSOCIATION, in its September number announced its SUPPORT OF THE REPUBLICAN STATE TICKET.—Governor Ames of MASSACHUSETTS, on June 16, SIGNED THE BILL, which had been vetoed by his predecessor the year before, GIVING PREFERENCE in appointments to office in the State to honorably discharged SOLDIERS AND SAILORS, without civil-service examination." September 28, the Supreme Court of the State gave an interpretation of this law that those who are exempted by it from the regular examination, nevertheless, CANNOT BE PREFERRED for appointment to office WITHOUT HAVING MADE APPLICATION to the Civil-Service Commission. This leaves in the hands of the Commission the sole power of certifying veterans for appointment.

ELECTIONS.—An election was held in MICHIGAN, April 4, on an amendment to the Constitution TO PROHIBIT THE SALE OF

LIQUOR, which was defeated by a majority of about 5,000. Two Judges of the Supreme Court, James V. Campbell and Charles D. Long, Republicans, were elected, by majorities ranging from 8,000 to 12,000.—Three proposed AMENDMENTS to the Constitution of CALIFORNIA were rejected at the polls April 12—for the Justices of the Supreme Court, instead of the people, to elect the Chief-Justice; for an increase of the salaries of the Supreme Court Judges (from $6,000 to $7,500 a year), and of certain Judges of the Superior Court; and for cities of more than 10,000 inhabitants to make their own charters.—General S. B. Buckner (Democrat)was ELECTED GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY, August 1, by a plurality of 17,015—A GREATLY REDUCED PLURALITY from those cast by the Democrats in recent years.—At the election of members of the UTAH Legislature, on the same day, TWO NON-MORMON CANDIDATES were elected, chiefly because of the disfranchisement by the Edmunds-Tucker act of the women.—On August 4, several proposed amendments to the TEXAS Constitution, chief of which was one prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquors were submitted to popular vote, and the *prohibitory amendment* was defeated by a vote of 221,627 to 129,273. At an election in TENNESSEE on September 29, a proposed PROHIBITORY AMENDMENT to the Constitution was defeated by a majority of 27,693 votes.—Charles James Faulkner (Democrat) was elected United States SENATOR from WEST VIRGINIA, May 5; Samuel Pasco (Democrat) from FLORIDA, May 19; William E. Chandler (Republican) from NEW HAMPSHIRE, June 14.

IMPORTANT COURT DECISIONS AND TRIALS.—IN THE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT IN BOSTON, September 26, a decision was rendered sustaining the demurrer of the BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY in the suit brought by the United States Government to vacate its patent, and the case was dismissed. Judge Colt, who wrote the opinion, held, in accordance with a decision rendered by Judge Shepley in the same circuit on the same point, that the Government, in the absence of any express statement, has no power to bring a bill in equity to cancel a patent.—In a suit brought against the State of NORTH CAROLINA, in June, in the name of a citizen of that State, to compel the payment, by the levy of a special tax, of the OVERDUE COUPONS ON STATE BONDS issued in 1869, Judge Bond, in the UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT, held that the acts subsequently passed by the Legislature to stop the collection of taxes to pay this interest are null and void, and that the agents of the State must collect the taxes to pay it. Again on October 7, he rendered a decision that the act of the last VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE, called the "COUPON CRUSHER," which provides for instituting suits against persons tendering coupons in payment of taxes, is unconstitutional and void. He granted a perpetual injunction restraining the State from bringing such suits, and fined Attorney General Ayres of the State, and several county attorneys $500 each for bringing suits in disobedience of his injunction.—A decision was handed down September 14, by the SUPREME COURT OF ILLINOIS, affirming the decision of the lower court and the verdict of the jury in the cases of the ANARCHISTS convicted of the murder of policemen in CHICAGO, and it was ordered that August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, A. R. Parsons, Adolph Fisher, George Engel, and Louis Ling be hanged November 11, and that Oscar W. Neebe be sent to the penitentiary for fourteen years. Neebe is now serving out his sentence.—In a decision handed down by the SUPREME COURT OF CONNECTICUT, on April 1, the law prohibiting threats of injury to property was construed to INCLUDE THE BOYCOTT. The accused persons were convicted of conspiracy to boycott the proprietors of the New Haven *Courier* because they would not discharge non-union printers.—A decision was handed down April 26, by the SUPREME COURT OF VERMONT, declaring the attempt of striking stone-cutters at Ryegate to prevent the employment of other men a CONSPIRACY AND PUNISHABLE under the statutes of the State. Arrests for conspiracy under similar circumstances were made in August in MASSACHUSETTS and NEW JERSEY, and Judge Barrett in the NEW YORK Court of Oyer and Terminer, September 29, decided that the preventing of a man from getting employment, by a Committee of the KNIGHTS OF LABOR, a conspiracy within the meaning of the statutes.—THE TRIAL OF JACOB SHARP, against whom twenty-one indictments were brought for bribing the New York Aldermen of 1884 to grant the franchise of the Broadway railroad, was begun May 16. He was found guilty June 29, and sentenced July 14 to four years' hard labor in prison, and to pay a fine of $5,000. An extraordinary General Term of the Supreme Court, September 26, heard an APPEAL in his behalf, and rendered a decision sustaining the finding of the lower court and the verdict of the jury. Chief-Judge Ruger of the Court of Appeals, September 29, granted an appeal, and another stay of the execution of the sentence pending it.—THE INTER-STATE COMMERCE COMMISSION, April 22, SUSPENDED THE LONG-AND-SHORT-HAUL SECTION of the Inter-State Commerce law for a brief period—in some cases seventy-five and in others ninety days, for the benefit of a number of the most important Western, and, subsequently, for a number of Southern railroads. At the end of this suspension, this clause of the law went generally into effect, and the subject since then has been considered by the Commission only when com-

plaints have been made of specific breaches. The Commissioners have held sessions in the principal cities of the country TO HEAR COMPLAINTS AND ARGUMENTS, first in the South and then in the West; and they have given decisions in a number of cases brought before them. The PRINCIPLE that the Commission has taken for its guidance is, that it could not have been the intent of Congress to destroy competition where it exists. But any ruling which should practically compel the railroads to abandon traffic wholly to the water lines or to foreign carriers, would abolish competition; so, also, in a more limited sense, would a ruling which should have the effect to give all the business between two points to one line of road, where now there are two or more lines competing for it. Every such case must be judged by itself when objection is made, but upon the principle that *monopoly in carrying shall not be favored*, but that competition, where it actually exists, should be preserved. Judge Deady, of the UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR OREGON gave the FIRST JUDICIAL DECISION UNDER THE LAW, holding that it is not a violation of the law, for the Oregon and California Railroad, a corporation wholly within one State, to carry goods to Portland, destined to San Francisco, by a steamship line not under its control, at a less rate than is charged for carrying the same distance, or a shorter distance, the same goods not destined for shipment to points beyond on the steamship line.

THE NEGRO QUESTION.—A bill known as the GLENN BILL was passed in the Lower Branch of the Legislature of GEORGIA, August 2, "to protect the rights of white and colored people alike," by making it a penal offence for teachers and directors of the public educational institutions of the State to admit white pupils into colored schools, or colored pupils into white schools. It failed of passage in the Senate, but a *resolution* was subsequently adopted directing the Governor to WITHHOLD HIS WARRANT FOR $8,000, now annually appropriated to the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY (the school for colored pupils where a white teacher had taught his own children), unless it refuse to admit white pupils.

THE OHIO LAW whereby separate public schools for white and colored pupils were abolished, WENT INTO EFFECT at the beginning of the school year in September, and provoked dissatisfaction in a number of towns. From some of the schools white pupils withdrew, and from others colored pupils were excluded.

At a meeting of COLORED EDITORS at Louisville, August 10, the proposition to organize a NATIONAL COLORED LEAGUE to work politically was not favored. The Association recommended the establisment by Congress of a NATIONAL BUREAU OF INFORMATION to ascertain the extent and nature of lawlessness and mob violence against colored men, and a resolution was adopted complaining of the passage of acts by the Legislatures of INDIANA, VIRGINIA, TENNESSEE, and other States, making INTERMARRIAGE A PENAL OFFENCE, while crimes commited against colored women by white men are overlooked in the framing or in the execution of the laws.

CONVENTIONS, PLATFORMS, AND POLITICAL EXPRESSIONS.—TARIFF REDUCTION.—THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF OHIO DEMANDED "such JUDICIOUS REDUCTION of the present burdensome tariff as shall result in producing a revenue sufficient only to meet the expenses of an economical administration of the Government." THE IOWA DEMOCRATS in convention, September 1, called upon Congress "for the immediate REVISION OF OUR TARIFF LAWS to a REVENUE BASIS," favored "the retention of the internal-revenue tax on intoxicating liquors and tobacco," and protested against its proposed reduction "for the purpose of continuing the present high tariff on the necessaries of life." The Democratic convention of VIRGINIA demanded the REPEAL of the INTERNAL REVENUE SYSTEM as a "relic of war," favored a tariff upon imports "limited to the necessities of the Government economically administered," with incidental protection.—The platform of the OHIO REPUBLICAN convention contains the declaration that the first step in the reduction of revenue should be the ABOLITION OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE TAX ON TOBACCO. The Republican convention of MASSACHUSETTS declared that the time has come for Congress carefully to consider THE INTERNAL REVENUE system and the TARIFF ON SUGAR."—THE NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, October 6, adopted a resolution "that business men of all parties should unite in demanding SPEEDY ACTION by Congress looking to such a REDUCTION OF OUR REVENUES as will make the income of the nation conform as nearly as practicable to the necessary expenditures of the nation."—

The REPUBLICAN State conventions of KENTUCKY, OHIO, MARYLAND, IOWA AND PENNSYLVANIA, favored an EXTENSION of the PENSION LISTS or "more liberal" dealing with pensioners. With varying emphasis they CONDEMNED THE PRESIDENT'S VETO of the DEPENDENT PENSION BILL. A Committee of the Grand Army of the Republic has made a draft of a PENSION BILL similar to the Dependent Pension Bill that the President vetoed, and copies of it have been sent to all the Grand Army posts to get the approval of as many veterans as possible. The purpose is to have it introduced in the Fiftieth Congress. THE GRAND ARMY ENCAMPMENT at St. Louis in September, expressed approval of this bill and of ADDITIONAL PENSION LEGISLATION, including the reënactment of the ARREARS ACT. A reso-

lution of censure of the President for vetoing the Dependent Pension Bill was defeated.

The platforms of the REPUBLICAN conventions of KENTUCKY, of OHIO, and of MARYLAND, approved the scheme to grant NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION. The DEMOCRATIC platforms of VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND contained a similar plank. A resolution favoring SENATOR BLAIR'S EDUCATIONAL BILL, and instructing the members of Congress from NEW HAMPSHIRE to vote for it, was adversely reported to House of Representatives of that State by the Committee on National Affairs. In an address delivered at Springfield, Illinois, on the invitation of the Republican members of the Legislature, SENATOR SHERMAN made a plea for NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION, and SENATOR COLQUITT, of GEORGIA, has taken occasion to express a similar conviction.

The DEMOCRATIC conventions in KENTUCKY, MARYLAND, AND MASSACHUSETTS made equivocating expressions concerning CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM, and in VIRGINIA, SENATOR DANIEL in an address to the convention, OPENLY OPPOSED THE DOCTRINE. The DEMOCRATIC convention of NEW YORK "deemed the subject one which might appropriately be submitted to the popular vote." [See also CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.]

THE PROHIBITIONISTS held State conventions and made nominations for State officers in OHIO, June 30, in IOWA, July 15, in MARYLAND, August 3, in PENNSYLVANIA, August 25, in NEW YORK on the same day, in MASSACHUSETTS, September 7. In OHIO, IOWA, MASSACHUSETTS, and NEW YORK their platforms contain a PRO-FEMALE-SUFFRAGE PLANK.—The prohibitory law in RHODE ISLAND was made MORE STRINGENT in May, and drunkenness was made a statutory offence, punishable by a maximum fine of $10 or ten days' imprisonment.—A HIGH LICENSE LAW was enacted in PENNSYLVANIA in May, imposing a graded tax of $100 to $500; a similar law was enacted in MINNESOTA, which went into effect July 1, imposing a tax of $500 to $1,000.—A LOCAL OPTION LAW was passed by the Legislature of MICHIGAN, after the defeat of the proposed prohibitory amendment at the polls, whereby any county can vote for prohibition. A similar law in MISSOURI, where nineteen counties had voted in favor of prohibition, was declared UNCONSTITUTIONAL, September 22, in the State Circuit Court of Grundy County. [For defeat of prohibitory amendments in MICHIGAN, TEXAS, and TENNESSEE, See ELECTIONS.] A clerk in a drug store at WICHITA, KANSAS, was sentenced on September 22 to SEVENTEEN YEARS IN PRISON, AND FINED $20,800, for repeated violations of the prohibitory law.

THE LABOR PARTY nominated candidates for State officers in IOWA June 9, in KENTUCKY June 18, and in OHIO July 5. In NEW YORK the UNION LABOR PARTY (RADICALLY SOCIALISTIC) held a convention at Rochester, August 11; and, on August 19, the UNITED LABOR PARTY, which rejected Socialistic delegates, held its convention at Syracuse and nominated HENRY GEORGE FOR SECRETARY OF STATE. The main feature of its platform was the approval of the taxation of land-values only, and the State ownership of railroads, telegraph lines, and the like. (See also LABOR TROUBLES.)—A mass meeting of the INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS OF BALTIMORE was held September 30, and an address was issued "to the Independent Democrats of the State of Maryland and city of Baltimore," wherein the signers said: "We do, therefore, as *Democrats*, disown allegiance to the so-called 'Democratic' party in this State as a sham and a fraud, and we call upon every true Democrat to join with us this year in defeating the candidates, State and city, of this self-constituted organization. We believe that a real Democrat can be engaged in no better work at this time than in relieving the party from such an incubus and the party name from disgrace."

A convention of MORMONS at SALT LAKE CITY, which adjourned July 7, drew up a CONSTITUTION for the STATE OF UTAH, a petition for admission into the Union having previously been framed. The proposed constitution provides for the entire separation of Church and State, and for non-sectarian education, and forbids polygamy, providing penalties therefor. The "GENTILES" in UTAH, of both political parties, held aloof from the movement, declared the constitution a trick, and pronounced its anti-polygamy articles insincere. On August 1 the constitution was approved by a majority of the voters at a popular election. July 25, JOHN TAYLOR, PRESIDENT OF THE CHURCH, died a fugitive. July 30, a petition was filed in the Federal Court at Salt Lake City to DISINCORPORATE THE CHURCH, under the Edmunds-Tucker law, and to appoint a receiver.

THE MAJORITY REPORT OF THE UTAH COMMISSIONERS, published October 2, shows that since the passage of the Edmunds law in 1882, 541 persons had been indicted for unlawful cohabitation, and that 279 of these had been convicted. The number convicted of polygamy was fourteen. The Commission regards the movement to secure admission into the Union as insincere, and thinks that the effects of the Edmunds law have been wholesome. A MINORITY REPORT expressed confidence in the sincerity of the Mormon desire to be rid of polygamy.—THE REPUBLICAN convention of OHIO adopted a resolution wherein they "respectfully present" the name of SENATOR SHERMAN to the people of the United States as a CANDIDATE [for the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1888], and announced their "hearty and cordial support of him for that

office." The Republican convention of PENNSYLVANIA adopted a similar resolution in favor of MR. BLAINE'S RENOMINATION.

THE VIRGINIA DEBT QUESTION.—At a special session of the LEGISLATURE OF VIRGINIA, which adjourned May 23, a committee was appointed to make a proposition to the English holders of Virginia bonds for a SETTLEMENT OF THE STATE DEBT. Sir Edward Thornton, who went to Richmond as the bondholders' representative, refused the proposition made by the Legislature, which was based on the "RIDDLEBERGER PLAN" of settlement; and the Legislative Committee refused a counter proposition made by the English bondholders. Both political parties in Virginia favor the "Riddleberger plan." [For Judge Bond's decisions on Coupon Cases See COURT DECISIONS AND TRIALS.]

LABOR TROUBLES AND THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.—A STRIKE begun May 12 in CHICAGO by the building trades because of a disagreement between contractors and workmen about the number of apprentices and the making of Saturday a pay-day, provoked lock-outs and caused a cessation of building for more than a month. Miners in PENNSYLVANIA, lumbermen and quarrymen in the NORTHWEST, were thrown out of employment, and the loss of wages alone was estimated at $2,500,000. Nearly 20,000 skilled men were idle, and the strikers failed to gain the main points contended for. There was a strike of 11,000 miners and coke-drawers in PENNSYLVANIA in June, which caused great trouble to the users of coke. This trouble was ended by mutual concessions, after the loss of about $1,000,000 in wages.—THE SATURDAY HALF-HOLIDAY LAW went into effect May 31 in NEW YORK, whereby Saturday afternoon was declared a legal holiday. It caused great confusion in banking and commercial circles, and after the summer passed it was practically disregarded.—LABOR DAY (September 5) was observed as a holiday by most of the working people of NEW YORK (as it is made by law), and there was a parade of perhaps 25,000 members of labor organizations. In BOSTON and PHILADELPHIA and BALTIMORE, and in a number of the WESTERN CITIES, the day was spent in similar fashion.—THE REV. DR. EDWARD MCGLYNN, pastor of St. Stephen's (Roman Catholic) church in New York City, having previously been suspended from the priesthood because of his public advocacy of the Labor party's principles and of his refusal to submit to ecclesiastical discipline, was, by the Pope's order, "excommunicated by name," July 8.—THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR assembled at Minneapolis, October 3. The total number of members in good standing on July 1, 1887, was reported to be 485,000, with nearly 50,000 in arrears. This total of 535,000 members is an apparent decrease of about 195,000 since last year, but then a larger proportion was in arrears. The receipts for the fiscal year ending July 1 were $388,731, giving, with balances on hand, a grand total of $508,647.

THE CENTENARY OF THE CONSTITUTION.—THE CENTENARY OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION was appropriately celebrated in Philadelphia, SEPTEMBER 15–17, by a great industrial parade illustrative of the progress in the practical arts and sciences and the development of the country during the last one hundred years; by a military parade of United States troops, marines, and militia; and by an oration on the Constitution from Justice Miller of the United States Supreme Court, and a brief address from President Cleveland. A larger number of people participated in this celebration than in any preceding one in the United States.

OBITUARY.—The following men, who had been prominent in public life, have died during the last six months—Justice W. B. WOODS, of the United States Supreme Court, May 14; ex-Gov. WILLIAM SMITH of Virginia and ex-United States Senator CHARLES E. STUART of Michigan, in May; WILLIAM A. WHEELER, ex-Vice-President of the United States, June 4; Chief Justice MERCUR, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, June 6; LUKE P. POLAND, ex-Chief Justice of Vermont and ex-United States Senator, July 2; R. M. T. HUNTER, ex-United States Senator from Virginia, July 19; Professor SPENCER F. BAIRD, head of the Smithsonian Institution, August 19; ex-Gov. WILLIAM AIKEN of South Carolina, September 7; Gov. WASHINGTON BARTLETT, of California, September 12; Gen. WILLIAM PRESTON, of Kentucky, ex-Minister to Spain, September 21; ex-Gov. LUKE P. BLACKBURN, of Kentucky, September 14; WILLIAM B. WASHBURN, who had been Governor of Massachusetts (1872 and 1873), Representative in Congress and United States Senator, October 5; THOMAS C. MANNING, of Louisiana, Minister to Mexico, in New York, October 11.

POLITICS—FOREIGN.

GREAT BRITAIN—PARLIAMENT—The most important event in British politics during the last six months was the passage of the IRISH CRIMES ACT, the discussions of which took the greater part of the time and attention of Parliament, especially of the House of Commons; while it formed also, the absorbing topic of popular discussion. —A GREAT MEETING, which was attended by as many as 150,000 persons, was held in HYDE PARK, LONDON, April 11, to PROTEST AGAINST THE BILL, which had passed its first reading in the House of Commons on April 1. On April 15 a protest signed

by 3,200 Nonconformist preachers in England and Wales was published in London. On the day before, SIR GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, one of the Unionist Leaders, and formerly Chief Secretary for Ireland, published a letter which was equivalent to a manifesto against the bill. At LIMERICK, on the 17th, 60,000 persons made a demonstration against it. There was an extraordinary scene in the House of Commons April 15. MR. SAUNDERSON, CONSERVATIVE, ACCUSED THE IRISH MEMBERS, clearly alluding to MR. HEALY, of ASSOCIATING WITH MURDERERS. Mr. Healy called him a liar and was suspended. Then Mr. Sexton called him a liar ; and when it became evident that every Irish member would have to be suspended unless Mr. Saunderson withdrew his remark, he withdrew it and order was restored. On April 18, when the bill was on its second reading, MR. GLADSTONE, who had spoken vigorously against it previously, made another speech in the Commons. He said :

"The bill, sir, in my view, is a cup of poison. I will not commend it to the lips of Ireland. It must be offered to them by another hand than mine. To me it will be honor and happiness enough should I be permitted the smallest share in dashing it to the ground." The bill on that day passed its second reading. On the morning of the same day one of the greatest political sensations of the year was caused by the publication in the *Times* of the climax of a series of articles on "PARNELLISM AND CRIME," wherein an effort was made to show the Irish members' knowledge of Irish crimes, and participation in them. In this particular article was published a letter represented as having been written by PARNELL to EGAN in 1882, and in which this passage occurred : "I am not surprised at your friend's anger, but he and you should know that to denounce the murders was the only course open to us. To do that promptly was plainly our best policy. But you can tell him and all others concerned that though I regret the accident of Lord F. Cavendish's death, I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts." Parnell pronounced it A VILLAINOUS BARE-FACED FORGERY," made to affect the vote on the bill. After he had finished this explanation he said : "I trust in God this nation and this House may be saved from the degradation, mistake, and peril of passing this bill." The *Times*, in subsequent issues, challenged Parnell to bring the question of the genuineness of the letter before the courts by suing for libel. He never brought suit, but nobody now maintains the genuineness of the letter. On May 2 an effort was made to secure a PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY into the assertions made by the *Times*, the newspaper having published meanwhile another article on "Parnellism and Crime," wherein JOHN DILLON was accused of falsehood in defending Parnell, but the inquiry was not granted. Among the many AMENDMENTS offered to the bill by the opposition, and rejected by the House, were—that magisterial inquiries be conducted in public ; and that a person committed for contempt of court be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. The first clause of the bill was adopted in committee, May 17, by a vote of 171 to 79 ; the second clause, May 23, by 235 to 103. Before further progress was made there was a season of bitter political discussion outside Parliament. On June 1, a RADICAL UNION CONFERENCE was held at Birmingham, which was attended by two hundred delegates, representing all parts of Great Britain. In letters, or speeches, HARTINGTON, CHAMBERLAIN, and BRIGHT expressed irreconcilable hostility to the Gladstonians. Meanwhile, GLADSTONE was making HOME-RULE SPEECHES throughout WALES. When the bill was taken up again, the other clauses were rapidly passed in committee, by the frequent use of CLOSURE. June 9, the clause permitting a change of venue from Ireland to London was stricken out. June 10, MR. SMITH moved that on June 17 the clause that should then be under discussion, and all the rest of the bill, should be put. This motion was carried under closure by a vote of 245 to 93. By this procedure the Government gave the leader of the House the POWER TO DECREE BY AN ABSOLUT MAJORITY (not by three to one, as Gladstone proposed in 1881–'82) that discussion on any bill shall be closed by a certain day. Accordingly, on June 17, the bill passed the committee stage of the House. On the 27th, MORLEY'S amendment to limit its duration to three years was rejected. July 1 it passed its report stage, and on July 8 it passed its THIRD READING in the House by A VOTE OF 349 to 262. Gladstone, in opposing it, declared that former coercion measures had been aimed at crime only, but that this new one, passing beyond crime, aimed at societies. The bill passed its third reading in the HOUSE OF LORDS, July 18. On the next day the House of Commons having gone in a body to the House of Lords, the ROYAL ASSENT was given and the BILL BECAME A LAW. [For a summary of the Act, see NEW PRINCETON REVIEW, May, 1887. Many minor amendments were made, but in only one leading feature was there a change —the clause to grant a change of venue from Ireland to England was stricken out. The gist of the act is the power it gives the executive of Ireland to suppress organization and discussion].—The body of the LIBERAL UNIONISTS in the divisions on the Crimes bill identified themselves with the CONSERVATIVES, and the relations between the GLADSTONE LIBERALS and the IRISH members became closer.—THE IRISH LAND BILL having previously passed the House of Lords, and come into the House of Commons, an amendment that it be rejected was voted

down, July 15, and the bill passed its second reading. On Aug. 5 it passed the third reading. The House of Commons and the House of Lords disagreed on amendments to the bill, and when it passed both houses, it satisfied neither. Originally drawn as a palliative measure, it had to be advanced by the Government when the Crimes bill was introduced, but they made efforts to rob it of the most conciliatory features. The MAIN FEATURES OF THE ACT, which is full of confusing clauses, are, (1) An agricultural leaseholder may have a fair rent fixed in the rent courts for fifteen years; (2) the former exclusion of "town parks" from the Land Law of 1881 is slightly relaxed; (3) the rate of interest on loans to tenants for the purchase of farms is reduced to 3½ per cent., and the time of payment extended; (4) judicial rents fixed before 1886 are to be changed to correspond with the difference in prices affecting agriculture at present and in the years when the rents were fixed. It initiates a system of dual ownership.—The practical work of the session of Parliament was closed September 13, when the APPROPRIATION BILL passed its third reading in the House of Commons. There was a long and bitter debate about the TREATMENT of POLITICAL PRISONERS, which was provoked by MR. O'BRIEN'S confinement in a cell. MR. BALFOUR expressed the determination of the Government to make no distinction between political and other prisoners. Parliament took a recess till September 16, when it was prorogued. It was declared in the QUEEN'S SPEECH that many important measures affecting other parts of the kingdom had been postponed by the Irish legislation. At the end of the session the GOVERNMENT WAS WEAKER by eight votes than it was at the beginning—this loss being caused by bye-elections and by members' changes from Unionist to Liberal sentiments. The LIBERALS during the session lost not a single member by bye-elections, or by disaffection. The most important of the BYE-ELECTIONS were in the Spaulding division of Lincolnshire, July 1; for the North Division of Paddington, July 8; at Coventry, July 9; in Glasgow, August 2 (where Sir George O. Trevelyan was elected); and in Cheshire, August 13 (where Lord Henry Grosvenor, Liberal-Unionist, was defeated)—in all which Liberals were elected to succeed Liberal-Unionists or Conservatives.—The House of Lords on July 7, by a majority of 11, abolished PRIMOGENITURE IN CASES OF INTESTACY.—The PROMOTION OF PRINCES to high military positions was a subject of warm discussion in the House of Commons on May 12, when a bill was passed granting the DUKE OF CONNAUGHT leave of absence from India to attend the Queen's jubilee. On August 8, the Government was asked for a list of the princes who hold posts in the public service and have been promoted because of their birth, but the information was refused.—

IRISH AFFAIRS. COLONEL KING-HARMAN, CONSERVATIVE, was appointed UNDER PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY for IRELAND—a new office—in April.—Under the Crimes bill the IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE was proclaimed August 19. There was much dissatisfaction expressed by the Liberal-Unionists. August 20, CHAMBERLAIN, speaking for them, disclaimed responsibility for the proclamation of the League, and T. W. RUSSELL withdrew from the party. On August 25, GLADSTONE moved in the House of Commons, "that an HUMBLE ADDRESS BE PRESENTED TO THE QUEEN, representing that the Viceroy of Ireland has proclaimed the National League a dangerous association; that no information has been furnished to Parliament to justify the proclamation, by virtue of which her Majesty's subjects are to be rendered liable to be punished as criminals without a judicial inquiry into the nature of their acts; and that this House, in the absence of such information, prays that said proclamation shall not continue in force as to the association named and described therein," It was rejected on August 26, by a vote of 272 to 194. Nine Liberal-Unionists voted with the Gladstonians, and seventeen were absent and unpaired. By SPECIAL PROCLAMATION, September 19, many specific branches of the League were forbidden to hold meetings. EVICTIONS of Irish tenants were made at BODYKE in May and June. So violent and persistent was the resistance that 600 troops were required to dislodge tenants. Mr. DILLON made an unsuccessful effort, June 16, to have a Parliamentary committee appointed to investigate the conduct of the police in making these evictions. and the arrest and imprisonment of tenants. At Coolgraney, in July, 70 families were evicted, and MICHAEL DAVITT encouraged resistance. At Herbertstown, in August, there was another series of evictions. At a meeting at Mitchelstown, September 9, of 7,000 persons, including several of the English Liberal members of Parliament, to protest against the issuing of a warrant for the arrest of O'Brien, there was a CONFLICT between the crowd and the police. Policemen fired from the barracks, killing two persons and wounding others. WILLIAM O'BRIEN was arrested September 11. On September 24, he was found guilty, under the Crimes Act of using seditious language at Mitchelstown and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, being released, however, on bail pending an appeal. The trial, with the summons and the warrant that preceded it, furnished the occasions for a series of POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS against the Government, in some of which English Liberals and women took part. Not a few ENGLISH LIBERALS became MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE. September 4, a meeting of the Irish League, which had been proclaim-

ed, was nevertheless held at Ennis, Ireland, where vigorous speeches were made by the Irish members of Parliament. October 6, T. D. SULLIVAN, LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN, and WILLIAM O'BRIEN were tried for publishing in their newspapers REPORTS OF PROCLAIMED MEETINGS. The case against SULLIVAN was dismissed, because the prosecution had not proved that the meeting reported was a proclaimed meeting, and the case against O'Brien was adjourned pending an appeal on the other by the crown's attorney. The failure of these trials provoked the indignation of the Conservatives. The Irish newspapers continued to publish reports of forbidden meetings of the League, and their tone has become more and more bitter.—The ENGLISH TRADES CONGRESS, September 7, was captured by its SOCIALISTIC ELEMENT, and issued an address pledging the Labor party to separate political action.—The Northumberland miners withdrew their PECUNIARY SUPPORT of their two MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, demanding that members should be paid by the Government.—THE CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE of Queen Victoria's reign was splendid beyond parallel in modern times. June 21, she rode in an open carriage from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey escorted by her sons, sons-in-law and grandsons, as a guard of honor. The special service in the Abbey was witnessed by 10,000 persons of distinction. All the reigning houses in Europe sent representatives; while presents and congratulatory messages came from every part of the world. The day was celebrated in all British dependencies and wherever else the English language is spoken. In London the jubilee festivities lasted several weeks, and on July 2 the Queen held her first garden party since the death of the Prince-Consort.—SERIOUS COMMENT on the possibility of a HOSTILE FLEET'S ENTERING THE THAMES, was provoked by the success, on August 4, of the commander of the attacking fleet in the British naval manœuvres in OUTWITTING THE COMMANDER OF THE DEFENSIVE FLEET and steaming up the river. On August 3, a bill to allow the construction of a TUNNEL UNDER THE ENGLISH CHANNEL was defeated in the House of Commons by a vote of 153 to 107.—A COLONIAL CONFERENCE, attended by representatives from all the most important British colonies, began its sessions in London on April 4. The conference discussed and approved a proposal to lay a cable between Vancouver and Australia, and expressed approval of the extension of the TITLES OF THE QUEEN to "Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies and all Dependencies thereof, and Empress of India."—

FISHERIES QUESTION.—An agreement has been made between the British Government and the President of the United States to refer to a JOINT COMMISSION the questions respecting the North American fisheries, and MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN has been appointed Chief Commissioner for England. [See also PRESIDENT'S APPOINTMENTS.]—

The advocates of ARBITRATION as a means of of settling international disputes have been especially active. A meeting of the International Arbitration Association was held in London July 13, and made an especial effort to further the formation of an ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATION TRIBUNAL. More than two hundred members of Parliament signed a petition to the President of the United States to favor such a movement. September 6, the INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE OF PEACE at GENEVA favorably discussed the same project.—

AN ANGLO-TURKISH CONVENTION was proposed (and signed by Queen Victoria), providing for the maintenance of all existing firmans and the neutralization of the Suez Canal, and guaranteeing internationally the inviolability of Egypt. It was stipulated that the British should withdraw from Egypt in three years, unless the country should be threatened with danger. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff was sent as a special envoy to Constantinople to secure a ratification of the convention, but the FRENCH AND RUSSIAN INFLUENCE upon the Sultan was so strong that after repeated delays and promises, he refused to sign it at all, and Sir Henry was recalled, July 5.—The British Government's threat, in April, to seize one of the TORTUGAS ISLANDS in payment for a claim of British subjects against Hayti, caused great excitement at Port-au-Prince, and it was feared that the foreign residents there would be murdered. But in May, Hayti paid a part of the claim and gave security for the payment of the balance.—In NEW SOUTH WALES, on September 30, all PROTECTIVE CUSTOMS DUTIES were abolished. The new duties are all specific.—Early in June, native warriors attacked BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN SIERRA LEONE, and pillaged and burned villages, taking several hundred natives prisoners.—Sir Arthur Havelock, the Governor of Natal, in May proclaimed ZULULAND, except the new Boer Republic, a BRITISH POSSESSION.—A TREATY OF UNION was concluded in October between the SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC and the NEW BOER REPUBLIC. Henceforth they will be one State and under one President, and the first Chief Magistrate will be S. J. P. Kruger, President of the South African Republic. England's formal sanction of the union has not yet been given.—AFGHAN BOUNDARY QUESTION.—[See RUSSIA.].—

CANADA.—The first clear party division in the new DOMINION HOUSE OF COMMONS was made on April 29, which showed that the Government had a majority of 32. The

budget, which was introduced May 13, made a radical change in the CUSTOMS DUTIES, graded on a scale of two-thirds of the United States tariff. The duty on pig-iron was increased to $4 a ton, a bounty was laid on Canadian pig-iron, at $1.50 till 1889, and at $1 from 1889 till 1892, and the duty was taken off anthracite coal. The duty on cigars and cigarettes was doubled.—THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY was finished May 24, and there was a great celebration at Vancouver. Soon thereafter, the steamships of a trans-Pacific line began to run, and passengers on the first one from Yokohama by way of Vancouver and the Canadian Pacific road, reached New York in twenty days, on June 20. The provincial Government of the Northwest Territory having begun the construction of a road to connect with roads in the United States, as a competing route with the Canadian Pacific, the latter road, on August 20, obtained an INJUNCTION to prevent its construction. The provincial authorities did not heed the injunction, and for a time there was even talk of enforcing it by the Dominion troops. Work was stopped October 1, however, because there was no more money to pay the contractor, the colonial authorities having failed to sell their bonds.—WILLIAM O'BRIEN, editor of *United Ireland*, went to Canada in May to arouse public indignation against LORD LANSDOWNE, THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, because of the evictions of tenants on his Irish estates. O'Brien was mobbed at Toronto and at Kingston, at both of which places he was slightly bruised. He made bitter speeches against Lord Lansdowne, and left the non-Irish, as well as the Irish, population greatly excited.—There has been much rural agitation in Canada, especially in the southern towns and villages, concerning "COMMERCIAL UNION" with the United States. The BOARD OF TRADE, of TORONTO, on June 16, after an animated debate, declared that "Canada cannot consent to discriminate against Great Britain without her consent." MR. ERASTUS WIMAN, a Canadian resident of New York, and MR. BUTTERWORTH, a Representative in Congress from Ohio, have been active in this agitation. [For FISHERIES COMMISSION, see ENGLAND.]

FRANCE.—On May 17, the Chamber of Deputies, by a vote of 275 to 259, rejected the GOVERNMENT BUDGET, from which the Budget committee demanded reductions, and the GOBLET MINISTRY resigned. Their resignations were accepted by President Grévy, and a number of unsuccessful efforts to form a Ministry were made. The disturbing element was GENERAL BOULANGER, Minister of War in the Goblet Cabinet, in favor of whose retention a popular demand was made. Although his candidacy was illegal, he stood for election as a Deputy from the Seine, to test his popularity, and he received 33,038 votes against 198,297 cast for Mesurier, a Socialist. A NEW MINISTRY was formed, consisting of M. ROUVIER, PREMIER and Minister of Finance and of Posts and Telegraphs; M. Fallières, Minister of the Interior; M. Flourens, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Spuller, Minister of Public Instruction; M. Mazeau, Minister of Justice; General Ferron, Minister of War; M. Barbey, Minister of Marine: M. Barbe, Minister of Agriculture; M. de Hérédia, Minister of Public Works, and M. Dautresme, Minister of Commerce. THE POLICY ANNOUNCED was to prepare a budget in accord with the recent vote of the Chamber (when it was presented, it was 15,000,000 francs less than the last budget), to maintain the Goblet Ministry's military bills, and to exercise a firm foreign policy. "We do not reflect the views of anybody," the Premier announced, but a resolution of want of confidence was defeated on May 31, by a vote of 285 to 139. A crowd of youths outside the Chamber shouted "Down with the Ministry!" "Long live Boulanger!" The Chamber of Deputies, on June 18, passed the first clause of the ARMY BILL, which declares it to be the duty of every Frenchman to perform military service. Urgency for a motion to elect members of the Senate by UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE was moved in the Chamber of Deputies June 27, and defeated by a vote of 317 to 205; and on the same day the committee appointed to inquire into the position of FOREIGNERS IN FRANCE rejected a proposal to levy a special tax on them. On April 21, a French commissary named SCHNAEBELÉ, stationed at Pagny-sur-Moselle, was arrested by German police and imprisoned at Metz. The arrest at once became the subject of discussion in every European capital and of correspondence between the two Governments. For a time WAR SEEMED IMMINENT and stocks were depressed on the Bourse. Schnaebelé was released April 30; and was received at Pagny as a hero by the populace. The French regarded his release as a victory, and the Germans as an act of magnanimity on the part of their Government. Schnaebelé after a long vacation was promoted. As late as May the ANTI-GERMAN FEELING was so great, that during a performance of "Lohengrin" a crowd gathered outside the theatre singing the "Marseillaise" and crying out against Wagner and Germany. A whole series of Wagnerian performances was abandoned. On May 4, a mob went from the theatre to the residence of President Grévy, crying out against Germany. May 11, the Government closed a velocipede factory near Luneville, belonging to a German, because he employed men who were in the German army, and the soldiers were expelled from France. There were a few anti-German demonstrations in Paris on the anniversary of the fall of the

Bastile, July 14, and the French press became so insulting that Count von Münster, the German Ambassador at Paris, remonstrated with M. Flourens, especially against one newspaper article wherein the German Ambassy was called "a nest of reptiles." On the FRANCO-GERMAN FRONTIER, near Raon-sur-Plaine, September 24, a German guard, named Kaufmann, FIRED THREE SHOTS at a party of French sportsmen, killing one of the attendants, named Brégnon, and wounding one of the sportsmen, named Wanger. After correspondence between the Governments and considerable controversy, Germany paid an indemnity.—The French Council of State early in May rejected the appeals of the ORLEANS PRINCES for a reversal of the decree expelling them from the army. The COUNT OF PARIS went to the Isle of Jersey, and at St. Helier, on July 1, as well as for several subsequent days, received visits from great crowds of demonstrative royalists. When he bade them farewell, on his departure for England, he said: "You may be sure we shall win before long. MONARCHY will come without violent effort and by a gentle transition, for our organization is in training and everything is ready. The new Government will get into immediate working order, and on the eventful day I, helped by all good Frenchmen, shall be King." French mayors who were in any way concerned in these manifestations were dismissed.—A manifesto written by Clément de Royer, in behalf of PRINCE VICTOR, was read at Bonapartist meetings, August 14. Subsequently Prince Victor himself issued a MANIFESTO at Brussels, condemning the Conservative party for supporting the Cabinet.—The COUNT OF PARIS published a MANIFESTO September 14, in which he said: "Nobody has confidence in the morrow. The situation imposes duties upon the Monarchists in the country, who, unshackled like those in Parliament by a limited mandate, must show France how necessary it is and how easy it will be to restore the monarchy, and must reassure her against imaginary dangers, and prove that the transition can be legally effected." This provoked cautious but somewhat alarmed comment in France, but little comment of any kind elsewhere. The supporters of BOULANGER took credit for having warned the country of "the Royalist conspiracy" in the Chamber. M. de Cassagnac assured Premier Rouvier that, notwithstanding the manifesto, the Right would continue to support the Cabinet. The general feeling was that the Count thought the moment ripe for a movement in his behalf because he apprehended an early breach in the peace of Europe. After the organization of the new cabinet a series of BOULANGER DEMONSTRATIONS was begun. At a meeting of the French Patriotic League in Paris, June 24, when harangues were delivered against Germany for the conviction of members of the Alsatian branch of the League of treason, the crowd mingled shouts for Boulanger with cries against the Germans. Late in June, Boulanger was appointed to the command of the thirteenth army corps. When he left Paris, July 8, for Clermont-Ferrand, to take his command, a great popular demonstration was made in his honor. He was even bruised by the mob of his admirers. When he arrived at Clermont-Ferrand, the houses were gayly decorated in his honor, and the streets were lined with troops. So much attention was paid to him that it caused the Government no little alarm. The Government organs even warned Republicans against such a dictator as he would be. His dangerous popularity was discussed in the Chamber of Deputies, July 11, when M. Rouvier declared that it was necessary to remove him from his political surroundings and to return him to his proper station; and that if the civil power had hesitated it would have been all over with it. Again in July a discussion of General Boulanger arose in the Chamber, when a letter from him to a Deputy was published, wherein he wrote that he had but one aim, namely to proclaim to Frenchmen that they can and must raise their heads and assume the only attitude becoming a great people. The "BOULANGER MARCH" attained great popularity and the Minister of War forbade military bands from playing it. M. FERRY in a public speech spoke of General Boulanger as the Saint Arnaud of the *cafés chantants*. General Boulanger CHALLENGED HIM TO FIGHT A DUEL, and the challenge was accepted; but the duel did not occur because the seconds could not agree on the conditions. In an ADDRESS TO THE OFFICERS OF HIS COMMAND at Clermont-Ferrand, September 17, General Boulanger said: "We have to-day more need than ever of the qualities of a warrior. No, the hour has not yet struck for the disarmament of the peoples of old Europe. It is madness to believe it, a crime to say this, for it points to peace at any price as the goal to which our country should aspire; and our enemies—who often appraise us at our real value better than we do ourselves—know well that we have not got as far as that. More than ever we must continue the work. It is for France."—The Chamber passed a bill increasing the NUMBER OF REGIMENTS in the army, July 13, and an EXPERIMENTAL MOBILIZATION BILL, July 18. The MOBILIZATION EXPERIMENT of the Seventeenth Army Corps was so successful that the French press declared that if France had been in such condition for war in 1870 as she is now, GERMANY WOULD HAVE FOUND HER MATCH. M. Ferron, Minister of War, at a dinner, September 9, in offering a toast in honor of the corps said that the experience gained by the mobilization had dispelled the doubt oppressing the nation, and had given Parliament and the country a feel-

ing of confidence which they did not possess before. At a military banquet at Toulouse, September 13, General Bréart declared that France now knew her strength, and that she was ready and awaited revenge. M. Cales, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, made a similar speech.—The sale of the French CROWN JEWELS was begun in Paris, May 12, and the amount realized by the sale was 6,864,000 francs. More than a third of this sum was paid by an American firm.—The OPÉRA COMIQUE in Paris was burned, May 25, when it was filled with an audience, and seventy persons perished. The Municipal Council passed a vote of censure on the Prefect of Police, the Minister of the Interior, and the Minister of Fine Arts, holding them responsible for the disaster; and adopted a resolution granting theatres, cafés, and concert halls three months to substitute electric lights for gas.—The CENSUS of France for 1886 shows an excess of births over deaths of 52,560, against 85,000 in 1885. The divorces granted in 1886 numbered 2,949, against 4,277 in 1885.

GERMANY.—In domestic German politics there have been few events these six months that are worth recording, the activity of the Government being chiefly such as concerned FOREIGN RELATIONS. The Government's (pro-Catholic) ECCLESIASTICAL BILL, which had previously passed the Upper House of the Prussian Diet, was opposed by National-Liberal leaders in the Lower House, April 21. On that day BISMARCK spoke in favor of it for more than an hour, saying that the bill must be accepted in the shape which had been agreed upon between PRUSSIA and the VATICAN, because peace with the Church was desirable both for internal and external reasons, and that if it was not accepted unchanged, he must resign so far as his authority in Prussia was concerned. The bill passed its third reading April 27, by a vote of 243 to 100. The Reichstag adjourned June 18.—The REVENUE from the new spirits and sugar duties that were laid, was more than enough to meet the increased army expenditures.—THE EMPERORS OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY met at Gastein, August 6. The Emperor William made a visit to Stettin in September, while the CZAR was at Copenhagen, and there was popular expectation that the Czar would visit him there. On September 19, the *North German Gazette* declared that by reason of the Czar's failure to visit him, it was fully understood that the ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE THREE EMPERORS was at an end, and that Germany had recovered her freedom of action.—In September, Prince Bismarck and Count Kálnoky agreed on a COMMERCIAL TREATY between Germany and Austria. [For Bismarck-Crispi Conference, see ITALY.] There has been a series of measures for the GERMANIZATION OF ALSACE-LORRAINE, most of which have provoked sharp comment by the French journals, while some have given rise to correspondence with the French Government. April 1, M. Antoine, a MEMBER OF THE REICHSTAG FROM METZ, was expelled from the province, and orders were given for the DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH FLAGS preserved in the provincial town halls. BISMARCK said: "We intend that Alsace and Lorraine shall remain incorporated with Germany. Their fortresses are a strong bulwark against France, and for us they have the advantage of removing by several days' march the starting point for an aggressive movement against us from France." Every Mayor or other provincial official suspected of French sympathies was dismissed. A CENSUS was taken in May, which showed that since 1880 37,000 Germans had displaced 49,254 natives of the provinces; and it was estimated that if this rate of displacement continue, the population will become WHOLLY GERMAN in twenty-five years. In June, a pipe-maker at Metz was fined for making pipes bearing a carved image of General Boulanger. On June 12, ALFRED DELPIT, an American by birth and a well-known French journalist, was expelled from Alsace because of the anti-German tone of his writings. Several citizens of the provinces were found guilty of treason by a court at Leipzig, because they belonged to the FRENCH PATRIOTIC LEAGUE, the purpose of which the court declared was the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine. Two men, Klein and Grebert, were found guilty, July 7, of betraying MILITARY SECRETS to the French, and sentenced, one to 9 and the other to 5 years' hard labor. "Punish me," Klein exclaimed, "as a French spy. I was born a Frenchman, and am no German traitor." [For other Franco-German frontier incidents, see FRANCE.]

An official report on GERMAN EMIGRATION presented to the Reichstag in April, showed that the number of emigrants from Germany who passed through Hamburg, Bremen, and Stettin during the year 1886 was 66,671, a decrease of 22,000 from the previous year. But during the first half of 1887, 57,181 persons emigrated from Germany—an increase of 16,584 over the emigration of the first half of 1886.—The first of a series of surgical operations was made on the throat of the GERMAN CROWN PRINCE for an affection of the throat on May 23. Many other operations were performed, and he was under an English physician's care during his long visit to England.—ALFRED KRUPP, the head of the great gun works at Essen, died July 15.—The commander of a GERMAN SQUADRON AT SAMOA, in September, demanded a heavy fine from king Malietoa for robberies of German plantations; 500 men were landed and the king was deposed. His rival Tamasese was declared king. A few weeks later Malietoa was taken on board a German man-of-war and exiled.

RUSSIA.—After the efforts made to KILL THE CZAR on March 13, 29, and April 6, it was reported that a number of Nihilistic plots were discovered, and he repaired to Gatchina where some time was spent in retirement. Early in May the royal family made a journey to the DON COSSACK COUNTRY, and at Novo-Tcherkask, the capital, on May 18, the TZESARVEITCH was installed with great ceremony as Hetman of the Don Cossacks. The route from St. Petersburg, 1,000 miles, was guarded, but an effort was made to kill the Czar on his return. Still another attempt was made to kill him on August 20, when two shots were fired at him while driving, one of which perforated his coat. On August 26, the Russian royal family arrived at Copenhagen, where they planned to remain for several months.—Early in June, a ukase was issued FORBIDDING FOREIGNERS to acquire estates on the western frontier of Russia where there were many German factories as well as houses and farms; and aliens were prohibited, also, from acquiring real property in Russian Poland. This excited great indignation at both Vienna and Berlin, but the efforts of large German landowners to get exemption were in vain. Some of them sold their estates at a sacrifice and others became naturalized.—THE FRICTION BETWEEN RUSSIA AND GERMANY in July, provoked the publication at St. Petersburg of an anti-German pamphlet entitled "Waiting for War," and the threat was made at Berlin to hold the Government responsible for the pamphlet. The ACCESSION OF PRINCE FERDINAND to the throne of Bulgaria provoked a threat from the Russian press that unless he retired, Russia would consider the Berlin treaty null, which she had always regarded as "a bitter deception after a glorious war."—A new RUSSIAN LOAN of £6,000,000 was negotiated in Paris in August.—More coërcive measures towards THE JEWS were put into effect in July. They were forbidden to enter corporations and academies, and they were not allowed to remain in St. Petersburg more than a week. In August, a decree was issued, limiting the number of Jewish children in secondary schools to 10 per cent. on the frontier, to 5 per cent. in St. Petersburg, and to 3 per cent. in Moscow.—Great COMMERCIAL DISTRESS prevailed during the summer, and the bankruptcy courts were blocked with insolvency cases of long-established firms.—In May, the DUTY ON IRON AND STEEL, and articles manufactured therefrom, was considerably increased.—The Government has undertaken the building of an ASIATIC RAILWAY across Siberia to the Pacific, whereby the journey (by river and rail) from St. Petersburg to the Pacific may be made in fifteen days. The road is expected to be finished in five years.—Late in July the AFGHAN BOUNDARY question was settled, Russia received the territory between the Kushk and the Murghab Rivers, accepting in return the English frontier line on the Oxus River, and renouncing her claims to districts to which she would have been entitled according to the terms of the arrangement of 1883.—MICHAEL NIKIFOROVITCH KATKOFF, editor of the Moscow *Gazette*, the most powerful imperial paper in Russia, died August 1, and the St. Petersburg *Grazhdanin*, edited by Prince Meshtcherski, which had been little more than a journal of polite society, became a Government organ.

ITALY.—THE ITALIAN CABINET, as formed after a number of futile efforts in April, consisted of SIGNOR DEPRETIS, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Signor Crispi, Minister of the Interior, Signor Viale, Minister of War, Signor Zanardelli, Minister of Justice, and Signor Saracco, Minister of Public Works. At the opening of Parliament, Prime Minister Depretis announced that Italy would follow a PEACEFUL POLICY, but that since every other European nation was increasing its armament, the Cabinet would ask for credits to STRENGTHEN THE DEFENCES. April 25, a bill was passed calling for 17,000 reserves for service at the Massowah garrison. The Chamber of Deputies, May 30, voted a naval credit for 85,000,000 lire to be expended on iron-clads, torpedoes, and forts, the credit to extend over a period of ten years; and on June 30, a credit of 20,000,000 lire for the garrison at Massowah. SIGNOR DEPRETIS died July 29, and SIGNOR CRISPI became PRIME MINISTER. On October 3, SIGNOR CRISPI held a CONFERENCE at Friedrichsruhe with PRINCE BISMARCK, when a DEFINITE ALLIANCE BETWEEN ITALY, GERMANY, AND AUSTRIA, for five years was renewed. Italy has full power to take independent action on the Mediterranean; and should Italian interests conflict with those of France or Russia, Italy will rely upon the support of Germany and Austria. Crispi said: "Italy, like the other Powers, has reason to fear an ADVANCE by RUSSIA towards Constantinople, and she could not permit the Mediterranean to become a Russian lake." When he arrived at Rome, he exclaimed: "I bring peace." Russian and French comment on the conference has shown bitterness.—In reply to a request by the Pope for a statement concerning the labor movement, CARDINAL MANNING PUBLISHED A LETTER, early in the spring, which had a tone decidedly favorable to the movement. "THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR AND THE BRITISH TRADES UNIONS," he maintained, "represent the right of labor and the rights of association for its defence," and "the freedom of contract on which political economy glorifies itself hardly exists." In April the POPE DECIDED that the Church shall not oppose the Knights of Labor in America. In CANADA, where a mandament had been issued against them, they received absolution on promise of obedi-

ence to future decisions of the Holy See.—At A PAPAL CONSISTORY, May 26, Mgr. Pallotte and Father Bausa were made CARDINALS; ten bishops were preconized in France and one in Mexico, and the Pope proclaimed the new CATHOLIC HIERARCHY OF AUSTRALASIA, making the bishops of Adelaide, Brisbane, and Wellington Metropolitans. In June, a circular of instruction to Nuncios abroad was prepared, wherein it was explained that the Pope would not renounce his right to TEMPORAL POWER IN ROME, and there has ever since been a fitful discussion of the relations between the Quirinal and the Vatican. June 18, two PAPAL ENVOYS were ordered to Ireland to report on the social and political position of the people.—The CENSUS of Italy, taken last December, shows a population of 29,943,607, an increase of 243,822 since 1885.—Crowds of persons made a pilgrimage to Caprera, June 7, to commemorate the ANNIVERSARY OF GARIBALDI'S DEATH.

BULGARIA.—THE MEETING OF THE SOBRANYE, early in July, again brought the Bulgarian question into international notice. PRINCE FERDINAND OF SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA, was elected Prince, July 7; the regents tendered their resignation considering their work done; but the Sobranye refused to accept them until Prince Ferdinand's official notice of his acceptance had been received. He left Vienna August 9, and at Tirnova, August 14, took the oath of office. In his proclamation, which was concluded with "Long live free and independent Bulgaria," no reference was made to Russia. It was known in advance that RUSSIA WOULD NOT CONSENT to his election, and every turn of affairs has provoked hostile Russian criticism and threats. He sent a NOTE TO THE POWERS asking their approval of his election, but none has publicly replied to it; ENGLAND, AUSTRIA, AND ITALY, however, sent NOTES TO TURKEY declaring his election legal, but RUSSIA sent the PORTE a FORMAL PROTEST. A threat was published at St. Petersburgh to regard the Berlin treaty void unless he resigned. It was semi-officially declared in Germany that until the Prince should receive Emperor William's approval of his election, nothing could be regarded as settled. Ferdinand was enthusiastically received, and, except for occasional disturbances (one of which was a military conspiracy at Bucharest, where Radoslavoff, formerly Prime Minister, was arrested) that have been attributed to Russian influence, the country has been peaceful. A RUSSIAN PLAN was subsequently discussed to send General Ernroth to take possession of the Government, but it was abandoned; and the Porte proposed to the Powers that a COMMANDER CHOSEN BY TURKEY AND RUSSIA be sent to take charge of the Government, but no such plan has yet been carried out. Prince Ferdinand's occupancy of the throne has not been recognized by Russia, or Germany, or Turkey, nor regarded as permanent, but he has not been disturbed. At the head of the Cabinet is M. Stambuloff. ELECTIONS of members of the Sobranye, Oct. 9, resulted in the choice of 258 Government, and 27 Opposition Deputies. There were bloody election riots at several towns, but at Sofia a royal demonstration was made.

SPAIN.—April 2, a malicious EXPLOSION shattered the windows in the office of the Spanish Minister of Finance, and an explosive was placed at the doorway of the bureau of the President of the Chamber of Deputies.—On the first anniversary of the birth of King Alfonso XIII. the Queen-regent REMITTED ONE-HALF THE SENTENCE of every soldier imprisoned for participation in the revolt of the preceding September.—In August, the Government abolished the CUBAN AND PORTO-RICAN EXPORT DUTIES on sugar, spirits, and honey. In July, General Salamanca was appointed Captain-General of Cuba. In September, Señor Margall, a member of the Cortes, published a manifesto declaring the coalition between the Federal and the other branches of the Republican party at an end. He advocated FEDERALISM, and maintained that the differences of language and literature in the provinces warranted the desire of the people for self-government.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.— The HUNGARIAN DIET was closed May 26, when the Emperor, referring to the bills for military equipment that had been passed, complimented the members on their loyalty and willingness to defend the kingdom. The Diet reassembled September 29, and in the imperial message it was declared that friendly relations continue with all the Powers, but that the general situation requires the perfection of the army. [For COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH GERMANY, see GERMANY, and FOR THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND ITALY, see ITALY.]

HOLLAND.—THE ELECTIONS in Holland in September, resulted in the return of the necessary majority of two-thirds in the Second Chamber in favor of a REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION—the question upon which the last Parliament was dissolved. On September 19, Parliament was opened by King William, who thanked the people for the loyal demonstration in honor of his seventieth birthday, and expressed a hope that the bill for the revision of the Constitution would be passed.

BELGIUM.—The Belgian Chamber of Deputies in May passed a bill permitting the FREE CONGO STATE to issue a lottery loan to the amount of 150,000,000f.—IMPORT DUTIES were imposed by Belgium on cattle and meat in June.—In August, a bill to EXTEND THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE was rejected.—There was in May and June, a series of STRIKES AND RIOTS of laborers, led on to deeds of violence by Socialistic agitators.

AFRICA.—HENRY M. STANLEY'S EXPEDITION FOR THE RELIEF OF EMIN BEY reached Matadi on the Congo River, March 25. He appointed Tippu Tib Governor of Stanley Falls. On June 6, his expedition reached a point not far from the farthest point reached by him in 1883. On July 12, he was proceeding up the Aruwimi River, which he had found navigable above the rapids. A caravan of 480 men followed the expedition on the left bank of the river, and an advance guard of 40 natives of Zanzibar led it. The latest information from him was that he was making good progress, being hindered only by natural obstructions. In September a letter was received from Emin Bey, dated at Wadelai, April 17, wherein he said: "I have passed twelve years here, and have succeeded in reoccupying nearly every station in the country which General Gordon intrusted to me. I have won the trust and confidence of the people, sowing the seed of a splendid future civilization. It is out of the question to ask me to leave. All I want England to do is to make a FREE TRADING WAY to the coast."—MOROCCO.—In April an expedition was sent by THE AMERICAN CONSUL at Tangier to break up the SYSTEM OF USURY that had been practised by persons pretending to have American claims. Several gross offenders were punished.—The DANGEROUS ILLNESS OF THE SULTAN, as this record is closed, is causing the despatching of Spanish troops and of Spanish, French, and other men-of-war, each nation seeking to protect its interests in case of his death.

AFGHANISTAN.—AYUB KHAN made his escape from his imprisonment in Persia, August 14, and was accompanied in his flight by several Afghan chiefs. He made his way towards Afghanistan. The rumor was spread that his escape had been effected by Russian intrigue, but this was denied at St. Petersburg. Disaffection was caused among the Amir's subjects, and uneasiness for the stability of his authority was reported. But on October 11, Ayub's death was announced. The Ghilzais have periodically harassed the Amir, and committed many depredations. [For AFGHAN BOUNDARY QUESTION, see RUSSIA.]

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.—In the bad political condition of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the acceptance by KING KALAKAUA of a large bribe (reported to be about $75,000) from Chinese merchants provoked a REVOLUTION, on June 30. The citizens of Honolulu, Americans taking a leading part, organized a military company, practically seized the Government, and, without bloodshed, forced from the King PLEDGES never again to take an active part in legislation, to dismiss his cabinet, and to accept the one made for him by a committee of citizens—in short to RETAIN HIS CROWN BUT TO GIVE UP HIS POWER. He yielded; a new Constitution was thrust upon the country July 5, WILLIAM L. GREEN became Prime Minister, and the new Government, in spite of the dissatisfaction of a large part of the native population, continues in force. The finances of the kingdom are in great disorder. QUEEN KAPIOLANI, when the revolution took place, was on her way from England, whither she had gone to attend Queen Victoria's jubilee; and she first heard of the disaster on landing in New York. The ELECTIONS, held in September for members of the legislative body, resulted in the choice of a large majority of the supporters of the new Government.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA.—A conference of representatives of the FIVE CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES met in Guatemala in April, and drew up a comprehensive plan to further the establishment of a PERMANENT CONFEDERATION, and to "provide for their final fusion into one country." The agreement provides that differences between any two of the States shall be decided by arbitration. All the republics bind themselves to respect the independence of every one, and to prohibit the preparation in any one of armed expeditions against any other. Citizens of any State shall enjoy similar privileges and rights throughout them all. The constitutions of the States which do not contain this proviso are to be amended. An INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS is to assemble every two years, and the Congress which shall convene in 1890 is empowered to perfect the confederation, if present obstacles shall be removed. — In June, PRESIDENT BARRILAS OF GUATEMALA issued a decree announcing that the executive had taken control of the Government and suspended the action of the constitution because the Legislature was endangering the credit of the country.—DOM PEDRO, EMPEROR OF BRAZIL, sailed for Europe, July 1, for his health, and it is hardly expected that he will again be able to resume the active work of government. It has been reported and denied that he had determined to abdicate.

MEXICO.—The Mexican Congress convened April 1, and the House of Representatives soon passed an AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION whereby a President may be eligible for two successive terms, which was regarded as preparatory to the re-election of Diaz. The States approved the amendment, and on the reassembling of Congress, September 16, it was reported for final approval. [For THE NEW POSTAL TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES, see UNITED STATES.]

LITERATURE.

RECENT BOOKS.—The number of important books that have appeared during the summer months is not large. Among the more noteworthy we have, in BIOGRAPHY, *Final*

Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, edited by the poet's brother, Mr. Samuel Longfellow; a supplementary volume to the *Life of Longfellow*, in two volumes, by the same author. It consists chiefly of additional extracts from the journals and correspondence of the poet from his student days on to the close of his life. G. Birkbeck Hill's edition of *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 6 vols., issued by the Clarendon Press, is likely to be the standard Boswell (reviewed in NEW PRINCETON REVIEW for September). Sidney Colvin has contributed a carefully executed monograph on *Keats* to the "English Men of Letters" series. The *Henry Clay*, 2 vols., by Carl Schurz, in "American Statesmen," and *Connecticut*, by Prof. Alexander Johnston, in "American Commonwealths," are of especial excellence in the series to which they belong.

Mr. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* advances to 1793 in volumes V. and VI., which contain some 1,200 pages, and cover the first nine years of Pitt's ministry.

Ballads and Poems of Tragic Life, by George Meredith, contains poetic work of a high order, lacking somewhat in simplicity and grace, but everywhere strong and virile.

After Paradise; or, Legends of Exile; with other Poems, by Robert, Earl of Lytton, is in the mysterious manner affected by the poet. In a set of legends or parables he describes the genesis of poetry, music, love, and the ideal.

The edition of the *Works of John Marston*, 3 vols., by A. H. Bullen, is the first attempt to produce a critical edition of a text which in its traditional form is notoriously corrupt. The result is fairly satisfactory.

William Morris, whose translation of Vergil's *Æneid* is well known, has attempted a version of the *Odyssey of Homer, I.–XII.* He has chosen the metre of his own *Sigurd*, an anapæstic hexameter in rhymed couplets. The result is a rapid, stirring movement, but the ballad quality attained does not accord well with the essential dignity and nobility of the Homeric epics. The translator has also unwisely had recourse to many archaisms of English speech, even inventing archaic forms where none were at hand.

Still another attempt has been made to render Dante in the *terza rima* of the original, and with a line-for-line translation. *The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri*, by F. K. H. Haselfoot. The work has decided merit as a translation and as a metrical *tour de force*. Still, a high success seems impossible under the conditions assumed.

The prose *Convito*, or *Banquet*, of Dante is now for the first time accessible to English readers, in the translation by Elizabeth P. Sayer—"Morley's Universal Library." Unfortunately, the translation is marred by many inaccuracies. The general high character of the works issued in this "Library" is noteworthy.

Volume XXII. of *The Encyclopædia Britannica* comprises SIB to SZO.

The volumes of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Leslie Stephen, are issued at intervals of three months. Vol. XI. contains Clater to Condell.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Columbia College celebrated the 150th anniversary of the granting of its charter, April 13. Mr. Frederick R. Coudert was the orator, and Rev. George Lansing Taylor the poet, of the occasion. About sixty honorary degrees were conferred.

The 100th anniversary of the birth of the poet Uhland was celebrated throughout Germany, April 26.

A manuscript of great interest to students of Goethe has come to light. The document, which is a copy made in 1775, contains some twenty scenes of a prose *Faust*.

A considerable number of letters of Leibnitz have recently been recovered, many of them dealing with mathematical and philosophical subjects.

The total number of books published in Germany in 1886 was 16,305; 50 less than in 1885, but showing a marked increase in *belles-lettres*, science, and theology.

A fourteenth-century codex of Aristotle has been found in Greece, containing the *De Anima*, *De Cœlo*, *De Generatione et Corruptione*. It shows important variations.

SCIENCE.

ASTRONOMY.—A CONGRESS OF ASTRONOMERS, which included nearly all of those who are occupied with astronomical photography, was held in Paris from the 16th to the 25th of April. It was called together to develop a plan by which a chart and catalogue of the stars may be constructed by the use of the recently developed methods of photography. The Congress was successful in organizing a plan which, except as to unimportant details, was unanimously adopted. The directors of several of the most important observatories have already agreed to enter upon their portions of the work, and the coöperation of many other observatories is undoubted, although at the time of the Congress their directors were not authorized to engage for them in any undertaking involving the purchase of new instruments and an increased expenditure. The Congress determined that the telescopes employed shall be of a uniform size and construction, of such a focal length that one millimetre on the photographic plate shall represent approximately one minute of arc. The photographs are to give stars of the fourteenth magnitude. The field, to be measured on a plate, is to extend at least one degree from the centre of the plate;

and each square degree is to be photographed twice. The number of plates which will thus be required for a complete survey of the heavens is twenty thousand. A second series of plates, containing stars down to the eleventh magnitude, is also to be made, in order that accurate micrometrical measures of the positions of the fundamental stars may be obtained. The plates of the first series are to be used in the construction of a chart, those of the second in the preparation of a catalogue. The catalogue was undertaken only after considerable discussion. It is estimated that it will contain at least 1,500,000 stars, and the chart about 15,000,000. The oversight of the work was intrusted to a committee, which included several eminent astronomers besides all those who have declared their intention to take part in the work. This committee is to examine a number of questions which must yet be experimentally investigated, to decide in future upon the distribution of the work among the participating observatories, and to formulate the details of the methods to be employed. At its first meeting, it was voted by the committee, in view of the scarcity of observatories in the Southern Hemisphere, to request the governments of England and France to erect observatories in New Zealand and in the Island of Réunion, respectively.

Doctor Elkin publishes, in the *Transactions of the Astronomical Observatory of Yale University*, the results of his study of the relative positions of the stars in the PLEIADES. The instrument employed was the heliometer lately obtained for the observatory. By comparison with Bessel's measurements of the same group, in 1840, with adoption of Alcyone as the point of reference, Doctor Elkin shows that in the six cases of large relative displacement there is considerable agreement in the direction and amount of apparent motion, and that this motion is closely equal, and opposite to the result deduced by Newcomb for the absolute motion of Alcyone. Doctor Elkin thinks, with regard to these stars, that they are not real members of the group, but are at a vast distance beyond it, and are merely optically projected on it. Two other stars have a proper motion greater than that of the group, and are supposed for that reason to lie between it and the earth. Doctor Elkin remarks that from the minuteness of the changes which have been detected in the group, it is not likely that its internal mechanism will be determined in the immediate future. He says that the bright stars especially seem to form an almost rigid system, as for only one is there really much evidence of motion, and in this case the total amount is barely 1″ per century.

Professor Pickering has issued the first volume of the reports of the PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDY OF STELLAR SPECTRA, conducted at the Harvard College Observatory by the help of the fund provided by Mrs. Draper as a memorial to her husband, Prof. Henry Draper. It contains an account of the arrangements and methods employed in the investigation. The general plan of procedure by which the spectrum of a star is made to appear upon the photographic plate as a broad band has been described in the SCIENCE RECORD, NEW PRINCETON REVIEW, May, 1886. Four prisms, three of which have a clear aperture of eleven inches, form the train which is used. The spectra obtained are quite large, show their characteristics readily, and are easily enlarged. The spectra of the bright stars north of 24° are studied with an eight-inch telescope. Each photograph covers a region ten degrees square. The length of the spectrum of the bright stars is over one centimetre. On the plan adopted the entire sky studied can be covered by about seven hundred exposures. This investigation is nearly complete. The spectra of 8,313 stars of the sixth magnitude, or brighter, have been measured and catalogued.

The spectra of the fainter stars are also being investigated with the same instrument. Most stars of the ninth magnitude appear on the plates. An exposure of an hour is needed with these fainter stars. In all, 15,729 spectra of bright and faint stars have been measured.

The identification of the lines of these spectra will be made by comparison with absorption spectra; and the approximate wave-lengths determined by comparison with those lines which can be identified with the lines of the solar spectrum. The deviations of these wave-lengths from their normal value will probably afford the means of determining the motions of the stars.

The results of the British observations of the TRANSIT OF VENUS in 1882 have been published. The parallax of the sun deduced from them is 8″.832, with a probable error of ± 0″.024. This is larger than Todd's value deduced from Michelson's determination of the velocity of light, which was 8″.808.

Cloudy or stormy weather prevented observations of the TOTAL SOLAR ECLIPSE of August 19 in all parts of Germany, western Russia, and Japan. In eastern Russia and Siberia, on the other hand, successful observations were made at several stations. The corona and its spectrum were photographed, and the green coronal line was observed.

At Nashville, Tennessee, Mr. Barnard discovered a new comet on May 12.

At the Vienna Observatory, Palisa discovered, on May 17, minor planet No. 266. Doctor Luther announced the discovery of a minor planet on April 11, but it is supposed that he observed Hesperia.

At Nice, M. Charlois discovered, on May 27, minor planet No. 267.

At Marseilles, M. Borelly discovered, on June 9, minor planet No. 268.

At the Red House Observatory, Phelps, New York, Mr. Brooks discovered a comet on August 24. It is supposed that this is Olbers' comet of 1815, the return of which is expected. The elements already obtained closely resemble those of Olbers' comet.

PHYSICS.—In the *Comptes Rendus* for July 18, M. Amagat states that he has succeeded in SOLIDIFYING LIQUID BICHLORIDE OF CARBON BY PRESSURE alone. At ordinary temperatures, the pressure required was about one thousand atmospheres, and it varied with the temperature. His results indicate that there exists a critical temperature of solidification, similar to the critical temperature of condensation of gases, above which no pressure, however great, can produce solidification.

Doctor Olszewski reported to the Cracow Natural Science Society the results of his researches on the CONDENSATION OF GASES. He has succeeded in liquefying oxygen, nitrogen, and others of the most refractory gases, at pressures not greater than forty atmospheres, by the application of intense cold produced by the evaporation of liquid ethylene. By an ingenious arrangement of two concentric tubes, in both of which the condensed gases were collected, he was able to obtain them at ordinary atmospheric pressures, and even at pressures of not more than four millimetres of mercury. The liquid in the outer tube evaporated, giving rise to intense cold, and forming a non-conducting layer of gas about the liquid in the inner tube. In this way, Doctor Olszewski solidified carbon monoxide and nitrogen, and by reducing the pressure above the solid nitrogen, he reached the temperature of — 225°C., the lowest temperature that has yet been observed. The liquefaction of hydrogen was effected by a pressure of one hundred and ninety atmospheres at — 213°C. He has also determined the boiling points, melting points, and critical temperatures of the gases upon which he experimented. In a later paper in the *Monatshefte für Chemie*, Doctor Olszewski has given a determination of the boiling point of ozone, which condensed at a sufficiently low temperature into a dark blue liquid.

Prof. Victor Meyer of Göttingen has recently shown a gradual DISSOCIATION OF THE MOLECULES OF PHOSPHORUS AND ARSENIC WITH RISE OF TEMPERATURE. At the temperatures at which these substances volatilize, their observed densities as gases are such as to lead to the conclusion that their molecules each contain four atoms. As the temperature is gradually raised, their densities gradually diminish, as if the molecules of four atoms were breaking up into molecules of a smaller number of atoms, and at a white heat the densities are such as to indicate molecules of two atoms. In the case of antimony, they find its vapor-density to be that corresponding to molecules of three atoms, and the dissociation into simpler molecules does not become complete within the temperatures at present attainable.

Dr. Arthur Schuster presented to the Royal Society, on June 16, a paper on the DISCHARGE OF ELECTRICITY THROUGH GASES. He shows first that, if a discharge be passed through a rarefied gas, a pair of divergent electrified gold leaves contained in the same vessel, but not connected with the electrodes, will collapse at once. This experiment proves that the forces normal to the surfaces of the gold leaves are neutralized by the passage of the discharge. He then shows that a steady current of electricity can be obtained in air between electrodes at the ordinary temperature which are at a difference of potential of one-quarter of a volt only; provided that an independent current is maintained in the same closed vessel. He finds that the intensity of the current varies with that of the main discharge, with the pressure in the vessel, and with the form and size of the electrodes. The facts are explained by him on the hypothesis that the main discharge separates the molecules of gas into their atoms, that these atoms are oppositely charged, and are, hence, directed toward one or the other of the electrodes of the subsidiary circuit by any difference of potential between them, however small it may be.

Professors Michelson and Morley brought before the American Association for the Advancement of Science an account of their experiments instituted to determine the RELATIVE MOTION of the EARTH and the luminiferous ETHER. The plan pursued was to send, by means of mirrors, two beams of light from the same source in directions at right angles to each other, and to observe the interference bands which were produced by the two beams after they were reflected back on themselves and received in an observing telescope. The whole apparatus was mounted so as to turn about a vertical axis, and the position of the interference bands was observed as it stood in different azimuths. If there were a relative motion of the earth and the ether, there should be, during one complete rotation of the apparatus, a positive and negative displacement of the bands. No such displacement was observed, as should be the case if the ether were fixed in space and if the earth's motion through it were its motion in its orbit alone. As it is possible that this result is due to a motion of the solar system in an opposite direction to that of the earth in its orbit at the time of the observations, it is proposed to repeat the observations every three months, for at least a year. The results so far reached indicate no relative motion of the earth and the ether.

Professors Michelson and Morley also presented to the Association a plan for making the wave-length of sodium light

a practical STANDARD OF LENGTH. They showed how the apparatus can be arranged so that the number of wave-lengths can be determined in the length of a standard glass block, by the mere counting of the successive appearances and disappearances of interference bands; and stated that the accuracy with which scales can be constructed to agree with this standard considerably exceeds that of the present methods of comparison. The Association requested Professors Michelson and Morley to continue their researches, with a view to the adoption of the wave-length of light of some standard substance as a natural standard of length.

MATHEMATICS.—The 3d number of Vol. 29 of the *Math. Annalen* contains a valuable paper by Nöther, of Erlangen—"Ueber die totalen algebraischen Differentialausdrücke"—in which a number of the more important theorems and methods of Clebsch and Gordan's theory of Abelian functions are extended to functions of two variables. The significance of the paper lies rather in its bringing the method of rational transformations to bear on this new subject of investigation, than in the novelty of its results, these being largely due in the first instance to Picard, *Liouv. Journ. de Math.* IV., 1, 1885.

In recent numbers of the *Journal für reine und ang. Math.* (*Crelle*), Kronecker gives an exposition of his "*Allgemeine Arithmetik*" or "*Arithmetische Theorie der ganzen ganzzahligen Functionen von Unbestimmten.*" By the substitution of congruences for equations and the use of indeterminate positive integers, he is able to develop a purely arithmetical theory of integral functions with integral coefficients, proving that the dependence on the negative, fraction, irrational, imaginary, in which the theory is commonly placed, is not a necessary dependence.

CHEMISTRY.— Some interesting cases of the SYNTHESIS OF NATURAL PRODUCTS have lately been published. Bernthsen and Semper have synthesized directly a substance called nucine, which collects in small crystals in the juice expressed from the outer coating of walnuts. Professor Horbaczewski has found a simple and direct way of synthesizing uric acid, which appears in crystals similar to those obtained from natural sources. Lastly, Doctor Ladenburg has shown that a compound prepared by him artificially is exactly similar to the alkaloid cadaverin produced by the action of certain bacilli upon flesh. Two NEW GASES have also been discovered. The first is the hydride of nitrogen, or hydrazine, a stable gas with peculiar odor, and soluble in water. It was prepared by Dr. Theodor Curtius. The other is a tetroxide of manganese. It is of a deep blue color, and has but little affinity for water. It was discovered by Dr. Franke.

In the *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Belgique* for April, Doctors Van't Hoff and Spring describe an experiment in which CHEMICAL DECOMPOSITION was PRODUCED BY PRESSURE. The substance used was the double acetate of copper and calcium, which at ordinary temperatures is solid, but above 75° C. decomposes into its constituent acetates. Three-quarters of its water of crystallization are set free and its volume contracts. By means of a pressure of six thousand atmospheres at 40° C. the double acetate was decomposed, and the water of crystallization separated out. This is a striking example, similar to that of the melting of ice by pressure, of the reversibility of physical operations.

Professor Christensen gives, in the *Journal für praktische Chemie*, No. 11, 1887, his determination of the ATOMIC WEIGHT OF FLUORINE. If the atomic weight of oxygen be taken as 16, the atomic weight of fluorine is 18.99, or practically 19. Doctors Krüss and Nilson have determined the ATOMIC WEIGHT OF THORIUM to be 231.87, and by a redetermination of its vapor-density have shown that its atom is tetravalent, as required by the periodic law of classification of the elements.

The same chemists announce in the *Berichte der deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft*, that their researches on the lines and bands in the absorption spectra of certain rare earths lead to the conclusion that most of the substances in these earths, which have hitherto been called elements, are compounds. They believe that the evidence is clear for the existence of at least twenty unknown elements.

Prof. Clemens Winkler has published, in the *Journal für praktische Chemie*, Volume 36, the continuation of his researches on the NEW ELEMENT GERMANIUM, discovered by him. An account of his first communication on the properties of this element was given in the SCIENCE RECORD, NEW PRINCETON REVIEW for November, 1886. Besides two chlorides, Professor Winkler has formed a germanium chloroform, in which carbon is replaced by germanium. There have also been formed two fluorides, and a double fluoride of potassium and germanium. A germanium ethyl has also been discovered. The importance of these compounds lies in the fact that they were predicted by Mendelejeff, from his periodic law of classification for the then undiscovered element, named by him ekasilicium. In many respects the properties of these compounds agree with those predicted as the properties of the compounds of ekasilicium. Professor Winkler, as an additional confirmation of Mendelejeff's views, mentions the probable existence of a germanium ultramarine, in which the silicium is replaced by germanium. The existence of such a compound was suggested to him by Mendelejeff.

THE NATURAL SCIENCES.—A committee

of distinguished English physicians and biologists, appointed to investigate PASTEUR'S TREATMENT OF HYDROPHOBIA, have recently submitted to the Local Government Board a report in which they express confidence in the success of the method. They regard as established by their own experiments, as well as those of Pasteur, the following facts: If a dog or rabbit be bitten by a rabid dog and die of rabies, a substance can be obtained from its spinal cord, which, being inoculated into a healthy dog, will produce rabies. The rabies thus transmitted by inoculation may, by similar inoculations, be transmitted through a succession of rabbits with marked increase of intensity. But the virus in the spinal cords of rabbits that have thus died of inoculated rabies may be gradually so weakened or attenuated by drying the cords, that, after a certain number of days' drying, it may be injected into healthy rabbits or other animals without any danger of producing rabies. And by using, on each successive day, the virus from a spinal cord dried during a period shorter than that used on the previous day, an animal may be made almost certainly secure against rabies, whether from the bite of a rabid dog or other animal, or from any method of subcutaneous inoculation. The committee investigated many cases of those who had been treated by Pasteur's method, and conclude that the percentage of deaths is far lower than it would have been if the treatment had not been used. A writer in *Nature* explains that Pasteur's treatment depends on the injection, not of modified virus, but of substances produced by the virus and inimical to its further growth, and that even in cases where the treatment does not prevent death, it greatly alleviates the distressing features of the malady, as was seen in the case of Lord Doneraile, who died from rabies caused by the bite of a tame fox, and in another recent case. Complete protection against hydrophobia is secured only by the legal enforcement of a law for the muzzling of all dogs. Such a law has nearly stamped out the evil in Prussia, has completely stamped it out in Scandinavia, and wherever followed in England has been a cure.

The method of inoculation as a means of preventing disease has been extended by a Brazilian physician, Doctor Freire, to the TREATMENT OF YELLOW FEVER. He proceeds on the principles already followed by Pasteur and Koch. By a series of cultivations he obtains a modified form of the microbe of yellow fever and injects a small amount of the liquid containing it into the patient. The statistics of deaths from yellow fever in Rio Janeiro show a mortality of about one per cent. for those not inoculated, and of only a tenth of one per cent. for the inoculated.

Doctor Schunck laid before the British Association at its recent meeting in Manchester a new theory as to the NATURE OF CHLOROPHYL, the substance which gives the green color to plants. He finds that it consists of three substances in a state of unstable combination, that one of them is carbon dioxide, which is being constantly, during daylight, given up by the chlorophyl to the protoplasm, and the loss resulting as constantly repaired by the reception of more carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. It would thus appear that chlorophyl is a carrier of carbon dioxide in the plant, as hæmoglobin is a carrier of oxygen in the blood of animals.

It has been ascertained that the POISON-APPARATUS OF THE MOSQUITO consists of three glands in the thorax, the central one being peculiar to this group of insects. Their secretions mingle in a common duct, which runs up into the head and there divides into two. Each of these enters a mandible which is pierced like the fang of a snake or the sting of a bee; and thus the mosquito has a pair of poison fangs which enter the wounds along with the other piercing armature of its mouth.

At the annual meeting of the Royal Microscopical Society, on February 9, Doctor Dallinger gave an account of his experiments upon the MODIFICATION OF LOWER ORGANISMS consequent upon slow changes of temperature. He experimented upon organisms which multiply by division. A division occurs on the average in less than four minutes, and in the course of the experiments half a million generations must have passed. The organisms were first exposed to a temperature of 60° Fahrenheit. During four months the temperature was very gradually increased to 73°. At this point the vitality of the organisms seemed lessened, and the temperature was accordingly maintained constant for two months. It was then raised during five months to 78°, when it again became necessary to pause until the organisms regained their full vitality. In this way, by gradual stages, the temperature of 158° was reached, a temperature at which the organisms in their original state could not have lived.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Prof. John Tyndall, in April, resigned the chair of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution, which he has held for thirty-four years. He has been appointed Honorary Professor, and Lord Rayleigh has been appointed his successor.

M. Pasteur has been made the Perpetual Secretary of the French Academy of Sciences.

The French, British, and American Associations for the Advancement of Science held meetings during the summer. The International Medical Congress met at Washington in September. The Congress of the International Astronomical Society was held at Kiel on August 29.

A new periodical, *The Annals of Botany*, is to be published at Oxford. It will be edited by Professor Balfour of Oxford, Doctor Vines of Cambridge, and Professor Farlow of Harvard. Another periodical devoted to botany has just been issued at St. Petersburg.

A new journal, the *Climatologist*, devoted to medical and sanitary climatology, is to be published at Baltimore, under the editorship of Doctor Rohé.

The lens for the Lick telescope, required to replace that which was broken in the grinding, has been at last successfully cast, and has been received by the Messrs. Clark at Cambridgeport.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

The excavations undertaken by the EGYPTIAN EXPLORATION FUND continue to lead all others in the supply of new archæological material. Mr. Flinders Petrie reports that at Deir-el-Gibrawi, north of Sint, he has uncovered long inscriptions of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties; at Rifa, south of Sint, the fine XIIth dynasty tombs, rivalling those at Beni Hassan, have been for the first time carefully copied; at Silsileh two quarries have been studied to advantage, and quarry marks discovered for many Ptolemaic temples; in the desert, west of Dakshur, he traced the line of an ancient road from Memphis to the Fayoum, and at the apparent site of Kanobos found rock-cut baths in the sea. In the early spring M. Naville, with Mr. Griffith, excavated at Tell-el-Yahoodieh, which Brugsch Bey had suggested as the site of the city Heliopolis, rebuilt after the Hyksos invasion. Greek epitaphs were found, containing Jewish names, but the general characteristics of the burials led M. Naville to attribute them to the Ptolemaic period, while Mr. Griffith hesitates between the age of Rameses and a period as late as the XXVIth dynasty. A most remarkable discovery has been made at Boubastis of the remains of the temple mentioned by Herodotus as one of the finest in Egypt. To the east is a large building, called from the sculptures and inscriptions the "festive hall," in the centre is the hypostyle hall, and to the west an edifice of later date, probably Ptolemaic. In the first hall were found remains of several colossal statues bearing cartouches of Rameses II., though probably of earlier origin; also a large sculptured representation of a great festival, with processional scenes in honor of Osorkon II. of the XXIst dynasty. A stone bearing the cartouche of Pepi I., of the VIth dynasty, was brought to the museum at Boulak. The magnificent columns of the hypostyle hall belong to the XIIth dynasty. As two-thirds of the work of excavation still remain, the Exploration Fund has its task for next winter already determined.—Our knowledge of remote antiquity is also being increased by new material from MESOPOTAMIA. About three hundred inscribed terra-cotta tablets, relating to the revenues and tithes of one of the most ancient Babylonian temples at Sippara, have reached England. These are of value not only as indicating the flourishing condition of the country, but for the information they supply for late Babylonian chronology.—The attention of archæologists has recently been directed to a remarkable pier discovered by M. de Sarzec at Telloh. The pier is composed of a union of four circular columns, and belonged to a sanctuary of the great local divinity Nin-Ghirsu. This recalls the clustered lotus columns of Egypt, as well as the clustered columns of mediæval churches, and shows a more highly developed architecture in Babylonia than has been supposed.—From PALESTINE comes an important contribution of new material for the history of Greek sculpture, in the discovery of richly ornamented sarcophagi in a tomb at Sidon. This tomb was first explored and described by Rev. W. K. Eddy, an American missionary. One of the sarcophagi represents a Greek temple, with small statues placed between the surrounding columns; others are ornamented with sculptured reliefs representing lion and boar hunts, and one with a processional scene, apparently in imitation of a portion of the Parthenon frieze. The sculptures are attributed to the third century, and the colors upon them give evidence that the Greek sculptors aimed at truth in color as well as form. Hamdi Bey, of the Museum of Constantinople, and M. Baltazzi were sent to continue the excavations and to remove the sculptures to Constantinople. In cutting a wall through one of the previously discovered chambers, a second chamber was found, and, carefully hidden beneath three layers of flooring, was discovered a splendid anthropoid sarcophagus, in black marble or diorite, resembling the celebrated sarcophagus of King Eshmunazar in the Louvre.—In ASIA MINOR, Mr. W. R. Paton recently discovered in the neighborhood of Halicarnassus some tombs of bee-hive form, with an avenue or *dromos*. One is remarkable from the circular wall which encloses both tomb and *dromos*. Amongst the objects found were pottery, gold ornaments, and iron weapons, recalling the finds at Mycenæ, Sarmatia, and Kertch.—At Burnabashi, the recently discovered gold ornaments may revive the controversy about the site of Troy.—The Roman treasures of ALGERIA are gradually being brought to light. At Thannyas the ruins, which Professor Sayce describes as the finest Roman ruins he has ever seen, are being made accessible by a carriage road. At Tebessa some interesting mosaics have been found. The largest one represents Amphitrite and her attendants, with Ariadne and the leopard below. They

are described as unusually fine in workmanship and design. At Cherchell, an important torso of Diana has been discovered, and colossal statues of Hercules, Venus, and Jupiter.—In GREECE itself the spade continues its revelation of the past. The excavations of the Greek Archæological Society on the Acropolis at Athens have brought to light to the north of the Erechtheum remains of houses of the Mycenæ and Tiryns type, and vases like those found at Mycenæ. This points to the early use of the Acropolis as a stronghold, before it became a sacred spot.—The excavations of the Dilettanti Society about the temple of the Olympian Zeus have determined that it was octostyle, and not decastyle, as heretofore supposed. The American School at Athens has shown good judgment and enterprise in excavating at Sikyon. Numerous ruins still exist on the site ; but it was thought best to confine the excavations to the theatre, one of the largest in Greece. Of special interest has been the discovery of two arched entrances of Hellenic construction. These constitute one of the very rare examples of Hellenic arches.—The building for the AMERICAN SCHOOL AT ATHENS is in course of erection, and is linked with the English school by a common fence. Prof. A. C. Merriam of Columbia College is in charge of the American, and Mr. Ernest Gardiner of the English, school.—Doctor Milchhöfer has discovered in the neighborhood of Thorikos an archaic domical tomb unlike anything in Greece. It has a pointed arched gallery (false arch) with an apse, reminding us of the Regulini Galassi tomb in Etruria. On the island of Thasos, Mr. Theodore Bent's energetic discoveries have enabled him to trace the history of Thasiote art from the archaic period to Roman times. His report deals with the Roman arch, the theatre, the temple of Apollo at Alki, and the Thasiote tombs. The work accomplished by Mr. Bent is a signal example of how much may be done by well-directed effort, even when accompanied by an exceedingly small appropriation.—In ITALY the excavations in the necropoli at Orvieto and Perugia have resulted in the acquisition of many Etruscan objects. Of great importance has been the discovery of at Falerii of the ruins of two ETRUSCAN TEMPLES.—Sybaris is finally to be excavated by the Italian Government. Professor Viola has been appointed to conduct the excavations. As this city was buried in 510 B. C., a time when Greek art had reached an interesting period of development, it is hoped that the excavations will be undertaken in a liberal spirit and a thorough manner.—In GERMANY, at Heddernheim, near Frankfort, there has been discovered a Mythræum, or chapel dedicated to Mythras. At the east end was a sculptured relief representing the usual group of Mythras and the bull. On either side were two slabs, with reliefs of two genii with torches. At the west end, a basalt altar with an inscription. This is the third Mythræum found in this neighborhood, a proof of how the mysteries of this eastern divinity had spread through the western Roman provinces.—From FRANCE new material for the study of Gallic antiquities is constantly coming to light. Gallo-Roman tombs have recently been discovered at Mantoche and at Muy. In the old Faubourg St. Germain, Paris, fifty-two Gallic tombs have been found, containing, besides human remains, swords, lances, shields, and bronze and iron implements of various kinds. At Dijon have been discovered the foundation walls of the castrum described by Gregory of Tours, and at Lyons, the remains of an ancient amphitheatre, near the site of the Forum and Imperial Palace.—In ENGLAND, Mr. Lofton Brock has discovered a portion of the old London wall, of fine Roman work, having a chamfered plinth of dark brown iron-stone, various bonding courses of bright red brick, and face-work of square Kentish ragstone. Interesting discoveries have been made at Woodcutts, by General Pitt-Rivers, of an entire British village of the date of the early occupation by the Romans. The skeletons show a race of inferior stature. The large number of articles of daily use which have been found, together with Roman coins, show a race of aboriginal Britons who lived on into the Roman period.—The accumulation of sepulchral monuments in the BRITISH MUSEUM has been so great that hereafter the Print Room will be given up to them. Over two hundred reliefs will be exhibited on the walls, and the floor will be occupied by large sarcophagi.

A NEW PROCESS OF REPRODUCING ETCHINGS is employed by the Autotype Company. A facsimile of the metal plate is produced from a photograph of an impression of the original, by the employment of an autotype tissue which is electrically conductive. The plates are produced by an electric deposit on the autotype image. The new method has been successfully tried on Méryon's etchings, preserving wonderfully the firmness and delicacy of the artist's touch.

ANALYTICAL INDEX.